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CHRISTIAN F. M. 1711

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CRESCENTIUS MATHERUS.

S.T.P. Obiit Aug. 23. 1723. *Ætatis Suae* 85.

Vanderspirit pinxit.

R. White Sculp. Londini.

MEMOIRS
OF THE
LIFE

Of the late REVEREND

Increase Mather, D.D.

Who died *August 23, 1723.*

With a PREFACE by the Reverend EDMUND
CALAMY, D. D.



L O N D O N:

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THE
PREFACE.



THE Lives of Persons eminent for Learning or Piety, or any such Actions as deserve to be celebrated, have ever been read with a peculiar Pleasure. There is something in them that is much more instructive, than in dry Precepts: They strike the Fancy in a very lively Manner, improve the Judgment, impress the Memory, raise and captivate the Affections, make the reaching great Attainments appear a thing that is practicable, and provoke to an Imitation. I take it to be no small Happiness to us in Britain, that we have a greater Number of such Lives in our own Language, than most other Nations: Perhaps I might truly say, than any one.

The P R E F A C E.

The publish'd Lives of Mr. Richard Baxter, Dr. Stanton, Mr. Philip Henry, Mr. Owen Stockton, Mr. Joseph Allein, Mr. John Machin, Mr. Thomas Rosewell, Mr. John Howe, and now of Dr. Increase Mather, (to say nothing of the Memoirs of a good Number that I have pick'd up, and put together in my Abridgment) plainly shew, that among those Preachers that were silenc'd in 1662, upon the taking Place of the celebrated Act for Uniformity, there were many that did worthily in our Israel. None of these are now left; they have quitted this earthly Stage; the malignant World is rid of them; and they are at rest; but their Works follow them. This Dr. Mather, to whose Life I have been desir'd to prefix a Preface, brings up the Rear of them, as good old Dr. Gilbert Voet did that of the Members of the Synod of Dort, and Dr. Wallis, that of the Divines who sat in the Assembly at Westminster.

But tho' they are all gone, their Memory is bless'd, and deserves embalming. 'Twas upon a religious Account, and to keep good Consciences, that they were expos'd; and they had much of the Presence of God with them. And it were heartily to be wish'd, that they that come after them, and act upon their Principles, had more of the same Spirit of Piety, that was so remarkable in them, and a like Divine Presence and Blessing

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sing attending their Ministry. He that has the Residue of the Spirit, should, I think, be earnestly sought unto on this behalf, by all that are concern'd for the thriving of real Religion among us.

That Life, an Account of which is given in the Papers that here follow, was very holy and regular, strict and uniform, exemplary and useful, and considerably prolong'd. It contains many memorable things relating both to the Providence and Grace of God. If it has not in it so great a Variety as we meet with in some others, it yet presents us with an Instance of singular Integrity. It is not set off with Pomp and Ostentation, but is drawn up in the Words of Truth and Soberness, and may be very safely depended on. And such Instances as these appearing now and then among us, are a sensible Proof, that God has not yet quite left our World.

The Name of Mather is well known, and precious, both in this Island, and America too, ever since the time that he whose Counsel shall stand, and who will do all his Pleasure, thought fit, out of his infinite Wisdom and Benignity, to bring a great Good out of a sore Evil, and to make Use of the Rigours and Severities in Ecclesiastical Matters here in England, as a Means for the spreading of his Gospel, even to the remote Parts of the Earth. They that have successively born that Name, have interchangeably

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ably spent their Pains in these Islands, and in those far distant Regions, (where the People before were Strangers from the Covenants of Promise) in order to the promoting a Gospel Interest, and the cultivating a good Correspondence between the Colony and the Mother Country, for the common Benefit : And on this Account it commands Respect, among the considerate Part of Mankind.

Some indeed there are among us, who are so strangely narrow spirited, that they have but very little Regard for any Persons or Things, that don't bear just their own Stamp. It need not be wonder'd at, if what is here offer'd, is not to their Gust. Many that are of this Make, so they can but live at their Ease, and enjoy their own Emoluments, care not what passes, or how things go, at such a Distance as America. Or if they at all turn their Thoughts that Way, 'tis only with an eager Desire to bring the good People there, to a Conformity to their own narrow Model, the Dislike of which, with its Attendants and Consequences, was the very thing that drove the Ancestors of the present Inhabitants, to such a distance from their native Country, and their Friends and Relations there. But this sort of Carriage, savours not much of Humanity ; and yet much less of Christianity.

I myself receiv'd a Letter from good old Dr. Mather, not very long since, sign'd, as
he

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he express'd it, with his dying Hand, (which he desir'd might be communicated to our Brethren of both Denominations, and it accordingly was so) in which he complain'd of the Carriage of these Gentlemen, and that, as far as I can judge, not without Reason. For it has, methinks, but an odd Appearance, for Persons to spend their Zeal for Christianity, in promoting a superior Order among the Ministers of Christ, spreading Common-Prayer Books, and giving Disturbance by their officious and busie Missionaries, to true Gospel Churches, in which God is seriously worship'd, according to his own Word, and is pleas'd remarkably to grant his Presence and Blessing. This, I fear, will at last be found, to be a Zeal of God, not according to Knowledge.

But it was another sort of Zeal that was conspicuous in the excellent Dr. Mather, who was vehemently set against all Sin and Impurity, and bent upon spreading Practical Godliness, and promoting Brotherly Love, in the whole Course of his Ministry; and securing the Peace and Liberties of his native Country, by his Conduct, to the utmost Extent of his Influence. And God was with him, and singularly own'd and bless'd him.

That a Number, upon reading his Life, may become like minded: That both the British and American Churches may abide in the Truth,

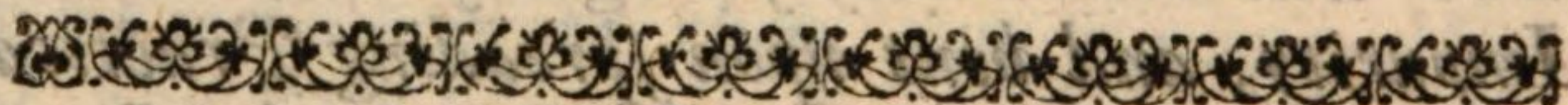
THE PREFACE.

Truth, do their first Works, and have the last more than the first; that Brotherly Love may more and more prevail among them, and a friendly Correspondence may be always kept up between them; and that there may still be some of the Name of Mather, from one Age to another, that may have both Abilities and Hearts, herein to give an helping Hand, is and will be the Prayer, of

Westminster,
Oct. 22. 1724.

*A sincere Friend of the
common Christian Interest,*

EDM. CALAMY.



ERRATA.

PAGE 3. line 19. read *Several*. p. 17. l. 31. r. *Synodallians*.
p. 18. l. 16. for *Mitchel* r. *Mather*. p. 30. l. 20. for
the r. *other*. l. 29. r. *not above*. p. 31. l. 10. r. *foretold*.
p. 40. l. 12. r. *St. Ives*. p. 64. l. 22. for *and* r. *as*. p. 65.
l. 2. after *to* r. *it is replied*. l. 3. for *that* r. *it*. p. 66. l. 12.
r. *admired*. p. 84. l. 30. r. *patient*.



AN
ACCOUNT
OF THE
LIFE and DEATH

Of the late REVEREND
Increase Mather, D.D.



CHAP. I.

§. 1. *Mr. Mather's Birth and Parents.* §. 2.
Education and Entrance on the Ministry.

§. 1.  HE Place of Mr. Mather's Birth was *Dorchester*, a Town in *New-England*, in which his Father Mr. *Richard Mather* settled after he had forsook *England*, where he could no longer, with Satisfaction to his Conscience, proceed in the Exercise of his Ministry. Mr. *Mather*, of whom the
B present

present Account is offered, was born *June* the twenty first, one thousand six hundred and thirty nine.

His Mother's Name, before Marriage, was Mrs. *Katherine Holt*, a Gentlewoman of good Descent, and of great Virtue and Devotion. When this her Son was very young, she told him, that if God would make him a good Christian and a good Scholar, he would have all that ever his Mother asked for him; and as she well knew no Man ever made a considerable Figure without Industry, she would often put him in Mind of that Passage, *Seest thou a Man diligent in his Business? He shall stand before Kings, he shall not stand before mean Men.* When he was about fifteen Years old, he lost his excellent Mother, who died triumphantly, though the Thoughts of Death were awful to her in her Life. Her last Words were full of Peace. (They were) *Eye hath not seen, Ear hath not heard, nor have entered into the Heart of Man the Things, which God has prepared for them that love him.*

On her Death-bed she earnestly exhorted him to resolve on serving Christ in the Work of the Ministry: and that he might not be discouraged by the many Trials and Difficulties, which attend that Course of Life, she advised him to consider that Passage of Scripture, *They, who turn many to Righteousness, shall shine as the Stars for ever and ever.* This left a deep Impression on his Mind, and the Memory of his holy Mother was valued by him as long as he lived.

The Number of Sons, which God bestowed on this happy Pair, was six; one died in his Childhood, four of them had a liberal Education, and made a considerable Appearance in *England, Ireland* and *New-England.* The Person, whose Life is now presented to the Publick, was the youngest; his Name given by his Father was *Increase*, on the Account of
the

the great Increase of every Sort, which God favoured the Country with, about the Time of his Nativity.

If he might have had an *Hebrew*, instead of an *English*, Name, it must, I suppose, have been *Joseph*, which is of the like Signification.

§. 2. Whilst young, he did not decline the usual innocent Diversions of Children; and yet there was no Lad, that could hold Pace with him for his Book at School, where he laid the Foundation of his Knowledge of the *Latin* and *Greek* Tongues, in both which he was well skilled.

When twelve Years old, he was admitted into the College: after he had lived there about a Year, his Parents, fearing that some things there might not so well suit his weakly Constitution, placed him with Mr. *John Norton* at *Ipswich*, and continued him there, until he removed unto *Boston* (A. D. 1653.) where his Pupil was seven Years with that learned and excellent Divine.

His Life had from his Infancy been free from Immoralities; but yet he was hitherto a Stranger to that great *Change of Heart*, which our Saviour told the celebrated *Rabbi* must be accomplished, or a Man could not enter into the Kingdom of Heaven.

I am sensible, this sort of Discourse is profusely derided in our Age; but they who are full of Drollery, when they mention this Article, do make the most severe Satyrs on themselves, since they shew they are destitute of what they ridicule.

God, who designed him to be an Instrument of converting many to Righteousness, did in his early Days give him an holy Turn of Mind and Will to his Creator, which produced a very conspicuous Change upon him, and left such Impressions of Piety, as continued to the end of his Life.

The Words of the famous Mr. *Perkins*, may serve to introduce what I have to offer about this internal

Change, “ It’s meet, that they, who are to convert
 “ others, should be effectually converted themselves,
 “ *John* must first eat the Book, and then prophesy :
 “ The Ministers of the Gospel must first themselves
 “ eat the Word of God, which is indeed done, when
 “ they are not only in their Minds enlightened, but
 “ their Hearts are mollified, and brought into Sub-
 “ jection to the Word of *Christ* : unless *Christ* be
 “ thus learned spiritually, and really ; Divines will
 “ speak of the Word of God, as Men speak of Rid-
 “ dles, and as Priests in former Times said their
 “ *Mattins*, when they hardly knew what they
 “ said.

Nothing can be more detrimental to the Interest of the Christian Religion, than for Men, who have no serious Sense of the Divine Truths contained in the Scripture, nor of the Nature and Necessity of such Holiness of Heart and Regularity of Life, which the Bible requires, to intrude into the Ministry.

It was the Happiness of Mr. *Mather*, to have had great Care taken by his holy Parents, to instil Principles of Piety and Devotion into him. By these Means he was restrained from any gross Enormity ; yet continued a Stranger to vital Christianity, until it pleased God to visit him with a sharp Distemper, which was supposed to be the Stone. Out of this he was soon recovered : The Affliction had a very good Effect upon him : He was now (to use his own Words) brought to have real Thoughts of Death, and to see Eternity before his Eyes. After this he was under great Solitude about his spiritual State for several Months, which brought him to a Resolution to live no more in any known Sin, and to be more exact in his private Devotion. He became, more than ever, sensible of Sins, that are not much regarded by them, who see no want of a Physician or Saviour.

He resolved, hereupon, to make his Address to God by *Fasting and Prayer*, for pardoning Mercy. He fixed on a Time when his Father was abroad on publick Service, and not to return in some Days: and retiring to his Study at *Dorchester*, he did make particular Confession of all the Sins, that lay uneasy on his Conscience; and beg'd that God would pardon them, and that he would change his Heart, as being sensible that Pardon without Sanctification would not make him compleatly blessed. One thing deserves here to be observed: He was afraid he had been guilty of the unpardonable Sin: He was satisfied to the contrary by his Father, to whom he communicated the State of his Soul. Indeed he delayed making known his Case, until his Concern about his eternal Welfare became too ponderous for him to support himself under it without Advice. He wrote of it to his Father.

He did again seriously set apart a Day for secret Prayer and Fasting; the Event was happy: He was brought to reject all other Dependencies, and to rely only on the Righteousness of Christ for Pardon and Acceptance. He pleaded that Declaration which Christ had made, *Him that comes to me, I will in no wise cast out*: And here he found Relief. Not long after, hearing Mr. *Norton* in a Sermon express himself to this Effect, that a Man might have some Sorrow for Sin, and yet not be truly converted; this startled him; but some time after hearing his Father preach a Sermon, wherein he shewed, that where there was new and sincere Obedience, and where the Heart was changed from the Love of Sin to the Love of God, it argued *Conversion*. This brought him to greater Tranquility of Mind, as well as what he farther heard concerning *Manasseh's* Conversion being began by Affliction, as was his own: For, though the Word of God be the great Means of producing a Change of Heart and Life, yet

yet Sickness, Pain, or some other Calamity, may be the Occasion of a Man's beginning to entertain serious and wise Thoughts.

The preaching of the excellent Mr. *Mitchel* was also very useful to him. He particularly took Notice of what was spoken in one of his Sermons, wherein he laid down these Evidences of Sincerity; when God in Christ is become the Rest of the Soul: when there is no known Sin allowed, or Duty neglected: when the Heart is for God chiefly and universally; which he hoped was his Case.

§. 3. I can't tell whether it will be expected, that I should make an Apology for dwelling so long on that which so few relish, because they never experienc'd it: if it be, I have this to offer, That it would be absurd to write the History of a Man's Life, the great Design of whose Preaching was to convert Men from Wickedness to Holiness, and from a reliance on the fading Enjoyments of human Life for Happiness, to a dependance on God, who is the Fountain of Blessedness, (I say it would be absurd to write such an History) and not give some Account how he was made serious, and had his Mind raised to pursue more valuable Designs, than what are limited to the Affairs of the present Life. It would look ridiculously in an Historian, that should undertake the Life of *Alexander*, and yet not mention his Passage at the *Granick Flood*, his Siege of *Tyrus*, his Battels with *Darius*, and his Victory over *Porus*. No less vain and trifling would the Man be, who should undertake the History of any eminent Divine, and yet say little or nothing of Experimental Christianity.

The Preparation abovementioned, was that with which Mr. *Mather* was fitted for Service in the Church of God. As to them, who rush into the Evangelical Ministry, taking it up only as a Trade, whilst they have no true Sense of Religion on their Minds,

Minds, nor acquaintance with experimental Christianity, they may do well to begin the Discharge of their Function, in preaching on *Psalms* l. 16. Before I dismiss this Article, I would cite the Words of Dr. *Josiah Woodward*, who, writing an Account of his Father, says, “That Mouth ought to be well
 “purify’d with the Coals of the Altar, which is
 “to be the Mouth of the People unto God; and
 “that Breast ought to be purify’d seven times,
 “which is to bear the Names of the People of God
 “in the presence of God, and turn away the Wrath
 “of God from them, through the Lord Jesus Christ,
 “the chief Shepherd; until this Step be made good
 “in any Church, there will be infinite Disorders,
 “and no effectual Reformation.

The Remembrance of Mr. *Mather*, thus early devoting himself to God, was a great Support to him, when he was under some Trials, that are often reserved for the last part of humane Life.



CHAP. II.

His Voyage to England and Ireland.

§. 1. AVING been the usual time a Scholar belonging to the College, and having acquitted himself as he ought, as to the acquiring of Learning, he expected to have taken his Degree of *Batchelor of Arts*. There was a surprizing Order from the higher Powers, requiring that his Class should be detained a Year longer than of right they ought to have been. This was a Provocation to seventeen of the Scholars, (some of whom proved Men of the first Rank) to withdraw from the College, without being graduated,

duated, deeply resenting such an unaccountable Indignity. Mr. *Mather's* Father, though troubled, as divers others of the *Curatores Academiae* were, yet advised his Son not to take his Name out of the College Register, as others had done. In the Year 1656, he took his first Degree; at which the President, who was a vehement *Aristotelian*, upon a dislike of the Principles of *Ramus*, which Mr. *Mather* had imbibed, would have stopp'd him whilst carrying on his *Thesis*, but Mr. *Mitchel* publickly interposed; *Pergat, quæso, nam doctissime disputat.*

In the following Year, on his Birth-day, he preached his first Sermon at a Village near *Dorchester*; and on the next Lord's-Day, he preached in his Father's Pulpit. The Auditory express'd great Satisfaction in the Performance; nor was his Father unaffected with the Discovery of God's singular Goodness to him.

§. 2. At this time his eldest Brother
 Voyage to Europe. Mr. *Samuel Mather*, being a Minister in *Dublin*, encouraged his coming over unto him, to which his Father consented; and in a solemn and affectionate manner gave him his Blessing; and among other things, said, *If he heard well of him, and if he proved faithful to Christ, the Joy of it would lengthen out his Life*, who was now sixty one Years of Age. At his going off, many generous Persons at *Dorchester* assisted him with Presents for his Voyage, of whose Names and Civilities he kept an ingenuous Record, which he afterwards sent to his Father; requesting that Thanks might be returned to his Benefactors. At this Time, taking his Leave of the Reverend Mr. *Mitchel*, a Man whom he often named with Honour, he had this Counsel from him. “My serious Advice to
 “you is, that you keep out of Company, as far as
 “Christianity, and Civility, and Occasions will
 “give you Leave. Take it from me, the Time
“ spent

“ spent in your Study, you will generally find spent
 “ most profitably, and most comfortably.

He sailed from *New-England*, July 3. 1657, and in five Weeks reached *England*. In the following Month, he went from *London* to *Lancashire*, where his Father's Friends received him with great Respect. In *September* he sailed from *Liverpool* to *Dublin*, and arrived there in twenty four Hours. His eldest Brother received him with all Tenderness, and was as a Father to him, and, by his Advice, he entered his Name in *Trinity College*. In *October* he fell sick of the Measles; his Brother *Eleazar* then lying sick of the same Disease in *New-England*. Soon after, the *Small-Pox* arrested him, from which, by God's Mercy, he was recovered. In the Year 1658, June 24, he proceeded *Master of Arts* in *Trinity College*, having first performed the Exercises required by the Statutes of that University. The Proctor, and some of the Fellows, who differed from him in Principles, as to Ecclesiastical Polity, gave him all the Discouragement which they durst, on the Account of his Sentiments.

But the Scholars were so pleased with the Wit and polite Learning of his Exercises, that they publicly *Hummed* him; which was an unexpected Compliment, not being in Use in the Academy of *New-England*.

Here he engaged the Esteem and Respect of all the Scholars of the best Character. Dr. *Winter*, the Provost of the College, took great Notice of him; and his Son, Mr. *Josiah Winter*, contracted a great Intimacy with Mr. *Mather*. He was chosen Fellow of the College, but did not accept it. He had also several Invitations to preach, and the Lord Deputy assigned him to *Marabfelt*, but on the Road he was taken so very sick, that he was under a Necessity of returning to *Dublin*. The Air of *Ireland* not agreeing with his Constitution, he resolved upon a

Return to *England*; though the Lord-Deputy assured him, *that he should not want Encouragement in Ireland, while he should be in Power there.* This Person was the Lord *Henry Cromwel*, who in the Time of his Government, acquitted himself with so much Honour and Integrity, that when he voluntarily retired to his Estate in *England*, upon the Changes approaching, he was not known to have one personal Enemy in the Kingdom.

Mr. *Mather* had an Invitation to *Sedwell's* in *Exon*, procured by another elder Brother, Mr. *Nathanael Mather*, at that Time a considerable Minister in those Parts: He accordingly took a Voyage back to *England*. At *London* he became acquainted with that great Man, Mr. *John How*, who persuaded Mr. *Mather* to lay aside his Thoughts of *Sedwell*, and to accept of *Great Torrington* in *Devonshire*. Here he spent some Months, preaching to a great Auditory. He had then an Opportunity of visiting his Brother, who was a Minister greatly esteemed at *Barnstable*. Upon the Protector's Death, Mr. *How*, (who had been his Domestick Chaplain) returned to his old People at *Torrington*; at which Time, Colonel *Bingham*, Governor of *Guernsey*, invited him to preach unto the *English* Garrison there. He went thither *April 1659*, where he preached every Lord's-Day Morning at the Castle, in the Afternoon at the Town called *Peter's Port*, where many of the *French* People, who understood *English*, were his Auditors.

Here observing the Lord's-Day to be much profaned, he preached on the *Fourth Commandment*, with such Success, that it produced a considerable Reformation in the Island.

It was not long before his Friends in *England* urged him to return. The Church at *Sandwich* sent him an Invitation, with all their Names subscribed to it, requesting him to accept the Pastoral Charge

Charge among them. This he declined, and one Reason for his so doing, was, that he had a legal Title procured for him to a Place in *Gloucester*, by the Assistance of the Reverend Mr. *James Forbes*, and his Friends.

He did, when at *Gloucester*, usually preach twice on the Lord's-Day, and would willingly have continued there, but foreseeing an approaching Revolution, he returned to *Guernsey*, where he had not been long, before King *Charles* the Second was restored.

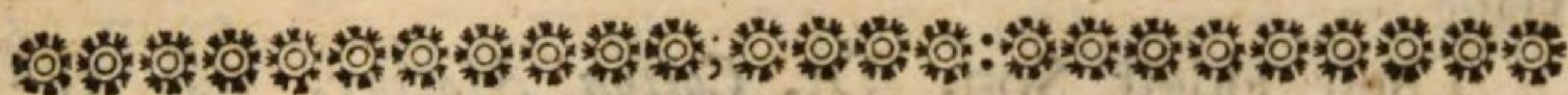
He was exposed to Insults on the Account of his refusing to drink Healths : The King issuing out a Proclamation against it, gave some Countenance to him, in his abstaining from, and reproving of a loose Practice.

About this Time, General *Monk* sent a Demand upon all commissioned Officers in those Parts to subscribe a Paper, wherein they declared, *That they believed the Times now, were, and would be happy.* Mr. *Mather* declined subscribing to the Paper, and thereupon the Deputy-Governor, who highly valued him, did the like. The Chaplain of *Fersey* informed *Monk*, that the Reason, why such Compliments did not come from *Guernsey*, as did from *Fersey*, was, because Mr. *Mather* was there. This incensed the General, who told the Governor, (Colonel *Weaver*, who was then at *London*) that Mr. *Mather* should be sent for : But the Governor, though of *Monk's* appointing, and one whom Mr. *Mather* had never seen, did divert the threatned Storm.

The Salary at *Guernsey* was one hundred and twenty Pounds Sterling, and every one thought he would lose his Arrears, which were above one hundred Pounds ; the rather, because one who had been a Communicant with Mr. *Griffith's* Church, and had changed his Principles, was made Deputy-Governor. He returned the Muster Roll, without Mr. *Mather's* Name in it. When the Matter was debated in *Lon-*

don, before the Commissioners, a Difficulty was started, that *Crescentius* could not be the same with *Increase*. Divine Providence so ordered it, that Monsieur *Martin*, a Deacon of the French Church at *Peter's Port*, hearing of the Question made about it, appeared and affirmed, that Mr. *Mather* was officiating in *Guernsey*, at the Time then spoken of, and offered to take his Oath of it; the Matter issued in his being paid his Arrears before any of the *Garrison*.

Sir *Hugh Pollard* being made Governor of the Island, Mr. *Mather* must either conform or relinquish this Place: He took leave of *Guernsey*, March 1, 1660, and next Day came to *Weymouth*: He remained in those Parts about four Months, frequently preaching without any Salary. He was too apprehensive of the Storm that was coming, to be prevailed on, by the Persuasion of his Friends in *Dorsetshire*, to stay in *England*; and notwithstanding he was offered a Living of some hundreds a Year, if he would forsake his Principles, he chose rather to trust God's Providence, than violate the Tranquility of his Mind. Mr. *Samuel Bellingham* obtained a Promise from him, to travel into other Parts of *Europe*. But something fell out, that compelled that Gentleman to go to *Holland*, before the Time agreed upon for the *Tour*, which released him from the Engagement. All Things concurred to direct him to a Return to his native Country.



CHAP. III.

*Mr. Mather's Voyage back to New-England.
His Marriage. His Pastoral Charge at
Boston.*

§. 1.  R. Mather embarked for *New-England*, in a Vessel bound from *Weymouth* to *Newfoundland*, *June 29*, 1661, where he came in *August*; and after ten Days Stay on that Island, he went on Board a Vessel designing to *New-England*, and arrived there *September* the first.

He came to *Dorchester* unexpected, at the same Time his Brother *Eleazar* was just come thither from a remote Town, where he had a Pastoral Charge.

The Surprize was as great, as it was pleasing to his aged Father; who had the Satisfaction, to hear his two Sons preach the next Day in his Pulpit.

He had several Invitations, to exercise his Ministry, from different Places. The first Winter he preached alternately, one Lord's-Day with his Father at *Dorchester*, the other at the New Church in the North Part of *Boston*; which at length obtained him, notwithstanding twelve other Places solicited his settling with them.

§. 2. He married in *Boston* the Daughter of Mr. *John Cotton*, in Honour to whom he named his eldest Son *Cotton*, as Dr. *Lightfoot* had before him named one of his Sons, to shew his Gratitude to a generous Patron of that Name. She was a Person humble in her Conduct, and much addicted to Prayer, often setting apart whole Days, for Fasting and private Devotion.

Devotion. She died fifty Years after her Marriage.

Their eldest Son, Dr. *Cotton Mather*, was the Writer of the Church History of *New-England*, which met with different Acceptation from several Sorts of Persons. He is also the Author of diverse Treatises printed at *London*, and of many more published in *New-England*.

Their second Son was Mr. *Nathanael Mather*, who died at the Age of nineteen. He was a Person of considerable Learning : His Life, intitled, *Early Piety exemplified*, has been three Times printed.

Mr. *Philip Henry* bought a considerable Number of them to give away. Mr. *Matthew Mead* wrote a Preface to the second Edition.

Their third Son, Mr. *Samuel Mather*, is a Minister, that has past a great Part of his Life in a retired manner. He has written several Books, but without his Name prefixed, except to a *Discourse concerning the Godhead of the Holy Ghost*, and another intitled, a *Vindication of the holy Bible*, &c. this last is dedicated to Dr. *Calamy*, who has been the chief Encourager of his Studies.

They had seven Daughters ; a rare Felicity has attended them as to their Children, eight of which have received the Lord's Supper at the same Communion with their Parents. But to return

§. 3. It was a considerable Time before he would consent to accept the Pastoral Charge. He at length complied, and on *May 27, 1664*. he was with great Solemnity ordained, when his Father gave him the Charge. I have been surprized, that no just Treatise has been published about Temptations, which are peculiar to the sacred Office. With a Design to relieve some, into whose Hands this historical Account may fall, I shall relate some of the Trials, which Mr. *Mather* was attended with, after he had entered upon the Ministry.

One Trial was an Assault made upon his Faith, as to the grand fundamental Article of Religion, the Existence of a God. The Devil knew he should prevent any sort of Usefulness from one, who was not settled in the Belief of this Article. Under these Trials Mr. *Mather* took Delight in reading *Fotherby's Atheomastix*, and others, who have written in Defence of the Existence of God, and of the Divine Original of the holy Scriptures. Dr. *Manton* gave it as his Advice to Candidates in Divinity, to read and study well Dr. *Stillingfleet's Origines Sacrae*, and *Grotius de Veritate*, &c. to establish them in the Belief of what they were to preach.

One Thing, that settled his Belief of the Existence of an infinitely good and powerful Being, was the remarkable Answer that he had to his Prayers, which he had offered for the Obtainment of Blessings.

He did, many Years after he had vanquished this Assault of the Adversary, publish a Discourse entitled, *There is a God in Heaven*.

Being every where admired for his Performances, and uncommon Applauses attending his Ministry, that he might not be elated, he had another sort of Trial to encounter. The *French Synods* have complained of the Sin of Ingratitude towards their Ministers, in not allowing them such Subsistence as was suitable ; the want of which threatened them with an entire Dissipation. Mr. *Mather*, being under an Engagement, which his People believed was not to be dissolved, they became very slack in allowing him a decent Maintenance. In this Case, had he made Complaints to Man, it would have obstructed the Success of his Ministry. He therefore took a more wise Course ; he recommended his Affairs to Divine Providence, which did not fail him. Several Gentlemen of good Estates, and generous Spirits,

rits, became Members of his Church, who took care that he should not be treated unworthily. Among them, was Sir *Thomas Temple*, as fine a Gentleman as ever resided in *New-England*.

The Value his Church had for him was such, as to suffer no farther Neglects to be committed. They shewed an uncommon Respect to him, when he was absent four Years in *England*, (employed for the Good of the Province, of which hereafter) continuing his Salary; and when for several Years, in the declining Part of his Life, he was disabled from Publick Service, they continued to him his large Salary, entire; and advanced considerable Allowances for some young Divines, who supplied his Place. In fine, they are, and have been, a Pattern to all Churches, whose Ministers are subsisted by a voluntary Contribution.

§. 4. Being careful how he spent his Time, he was very diligent in his Study; and it was evident he did not huddle up his Lord's-Day's Performances.

He constantly kept a Diary, noting every Day, in few Words, what he had been employed about, and the Temper of his own Mind: and would complain if he had lost a great Part of a Day, either in receiving or giving Visits.

The very great Progress, which he made in diverse Sorts of Literature, was the Effect of his close Application to reading. He knew that Learning, where serious Piety was wanting, would be an Imbellishment, that would aggravate a Minister's Condemnation. He was, therefore, watchful over himself, that he might maintain a serious Frame of Mind; which was accompanied with such an unaffected Gravity of Behaviour, as struck all Persons with a sensible Awe at his Presence.

§. 5. Usually once in a Month, before the Celebration of the Lord's Supper, he kept a Day for solemn Prayer, with Fasting. He

He inserted in his Diary the more especial Occasions of his so doing: The Mercies, which in the Course of Divine Providence he received, were also inserted, when he kept Days of private Thanksgiving. He discovered an extraordinary Seriousness of Mind, when at the Table of the Lord; especially at one Article of Supplication, which was for the Children of the Communicants: Nor were these Prayers lost. Many of them, as they advanced in Years, discovered they were no Strangers to Christianity, both as to Faith and Practice. I am sensible, that some make these Things to be nothing but the melting of the Brain, by chance happening in a warm Temper.

But they speak according to their Experience, and having themselves never been affected with a deep Sense of their own Guilt and Unworthiness, and of the astonishing Mercy of God to fallen Man, they pray without any great Concern of Mind, or Impressions of either Delight or Sorrow; and if they chance to hear of any Thing beyond this, they are very Philosophical, and reduce it to Mechanism or Chimera.

The holy Scripture, and the blessed Spirit of God, are little beholden to these sedate and serene temper'd Gentlemen.

§. 6. When Mr. *Mather* first returned to *New-England*, he found the Country deeply engaged in a Dispute about the Church State of their Posterity. Two Parties were soon formed, the one called *Synodalicus*, because they fell in with the *Synod* convened at *Boston*, 1662. One Thing they defined was, *That Church Members, who were admitted in Minority, understanding the Doctrine of Faith, and publickly professing their Assent thereto, not scandalous in Life, and solemnly owning the Covenant before the Church, wherein they give up themselves and their Children to the Lord, and*

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subject themselves to the Government of Christ in the Church, their Children are to be baptized.

There were some who had not such a Latitude, and formed the *Antisynodalian* Party. The Chief of them was Mr. *Charles Chauncey*, the most learned President of *Harvard College*, who wrote a Book intitled, *Antisynodalia Americana*: This was answered by Mr. *John Allin*, a Man highly valued. It fell out in this Controversy, that Mr. *Mather* differed in his Sentiments from his Father; but there was no lessening of his Father's Tenderneſs towards him, or of his Veneration for his Father.

Mr. *Davenport* wrote against the Synod, a Book which he intitled, *Another Essay for the Investigation of the Truth*. To this was prefixed, an Apologetical Preface, written by Mr. *Mitchel*: both Parties owned, that he had ſaid all that could be ſaid in Defence of the Principle he had eſpouſed, and that the Argument loſt nothing of its Strength by his managing of it.

It was appointed that Mr. *Richard Mather* ſhould answer Mr. *Davenport*, who did it with clear Reasoning, and ſuch a reſpectful Uſage of his Antagoniſt, as gave Mr. *Higginſon* of *Salem* occaſion to ſay, *He was a Pattern for all Answerers to the end of the World*.

But to answer Mr. *Increase Mather*, the Synod pitched on Mr. *Mitchel*, of whom Mr. *Baxter* has ſaid, *that if there could be convened an Oecumenical Council of the whole World, Mr. Mitchel would be worthy to be the Moderator of it*. The Arguments and Answers are abridged in the *New-England Church History* (I do not mean the History in two Volumes Octavo, but the *Magnalia*, &c.) Mr. *Mather* plainly ſaw, the Truth was on Mr. *Mitchel's* Side, and did that which few Men care to do, that is to ſay, own the Truth to be on the Side of his Adverſary, whom he had always highly eſteemed,
and

and to whose Posterity, since Mr. *Mitchel's* Death, he shewed very great Respect.

Nor ought any one to reproach a Man, who is so sincere, as to own his being convinced, because he is not so obstinate, as stiffly to maintain what his Conscience tells him is an Error.

Dr. *Owen*, to take off the Charge of Inconstancy, laid upon him for his appearing on Behalf of *Congregational* Principles, as to Church Discipline, says, *He that can glory, that in fourteen Years he has not altered nor improved his Conceptions of some Things, of no greater Importance than that mentioned, shall not have me for his Rival.*



CHAP. IV.

*Mr. Mather's Principles as to Toleration.
His Opinion about the Conversion of the
JEWS.*

 LTHO' the great Light of *Africa*, (as has been observed by some, who have read the Fathers) was once of the same Opinion with the *Ante-Nicene* Fathers, who expressed a just Abhorrence of forcing Religion upon a Man by Persecution; yet afterwards he changed his Mind, being willing to justify some Violences, offered by the *Catholicks* in that Age to the *Donatists*. What Horror must it produce, to consider what is reported concerning the most faithless and bloody Tyrant in the World! He could not be prevailed upon to rescind all his Edicts, in favour of the most loyal Subjects that ever lived, until the Epistles of so great a Saint as *Augustine*, unto *Bonifacius* and *Vincentius* were shewn unto him; and yet in those,

and in the other Epistles, published by the Archbishop of *Paris*, to justify the most accursed Persecution that ever was known, his Arguments are but trifling.

What Mr. *Mather's* Principles were, as to this Matter, shall be related. *New-England*, being a Country planted by a People, whose Design was to maintain the *Faith and Order of the Gospel in Evangelical Churches*, and to transmit them down to Posterity; and their Commonwealth being looked on as authorized of God to preserve their Churches; and the Civil Rulers esteemed, not only Members, but Protectors of the Churches; there were Laws enacted, which inflicted Punishment on the Broachers of pernicious Errors, and on them who made Invasions on the *Ecclesiastical Constitution*, which was esteemed the highest Glory, and chief Interest of the Country. The *Jews* did not ever value themselves more for the *Temple at Jerusalem*, than the People of that Province for their primitive Model of Ecclesiastical Polity.

Toleration was of Course declared against, as bringing more Mischiefs into the Church, than the *Trojan Horse* into the City, whose Ruin soon followed its Admission. It was commonly said, *Antichrist was coming in at the back Door, by a general Liberty of Conscience.*

Mr. *Mather* never was for carrying Matters to Extremities; and utterly disliked the bitter Spirit which he saw in some, who had a great Influence on publick Administrations. It is a Pity any of those Laws should stand on Record, some of which were never executed, and all of them long since repealed.

It is true, he supposed the Civil Magistrate might restrain Seducers; but upon maturer Thoughts, he became fully satisfied with what our Saviour declared, *that Tares must be tolerated*, and was utterly
against

against the nonsensical Way of converting Men to the Faith by Penalties. It is plain, the Man who is a good Neighbour, and a good Subject, has a Right to Life and to civil Enjoyments; and it is not his being of this or that Opinion in Religion, but his doing of something, which directly tends to the Hurt or Subversion of *humane Society*, that forfeits this Right.

As to the Blasphemies and Essays to poyson Men with *Atheism*, *Profaneness*, and a Contempt of Morality, which destroy the Ligaments of humane Society, they can lay no Claim to a *Toleration*.

A good Subject has a Title to all temporal Possessions and Enjoyments, before he is a Christian; and it looks odd, that a Man should forfeit his Title, upon his embracing the Faith, or because he does not happen to be a Christian of the uppermost Party among the Subdivisions.

All Acts of Religion, produced by external Compulsion, are in no wise acceptable to God; but, on the contrary, a Contempt of him who searches the Hearts.

I know it is pleaded, that Orthodoxy ought to be uppermost, and supported, and Heterodoxy to be suppressed. But the uppermost Side is always Orthodox; and when there is a Revolution in the Civil State, it ceases to be so of Course. They, who are most vehement for oppressing an inferior Party, when the Tables are turned, resent their being persecuted, as deeply as others.

The punishing of Idolaters with Death, among the *Israelites*, ought not to be urged in Defence of Persecution. The Land of *Canaan* was held by Deed of Gift from God immediately; and the Condition, by which they held their Title to it, was their Observation of *the Law of Moses*, in which Idolatry was expressly forbid, and the committing of it was *High-Treason*; they being under a *Theocracy*, did thereby

thereby renounce their Allegiance to God their Sovereign. At the same Time Foreigners, who came to the Land of *Canaan*, were not compelled to embrace the *Mosaick* Laws; and when many of the *Jews* fell into the grossest Heresies, yet while they kept the Laws of *Moses*, abstaining from Idolatry, &c. the Magistrate inflicted no civil Penalty.

The *Sadducees* overthrew some fundamental Principles of Religion; yet we do not find that the blessed *Jesus* reproached the Pharisees, for not persecuting them as they could have done.

The Christian Faith brings us into no earthly *Canaan*, and has no Weapons but what are spiritual: and it must be allowed, as most agreeable to Christian Religion, that the only Punishment inflicted on the Erroneous, should be Instruction; which if they will not Regard, their eternal Perdition is owing to themselves.

As to the sanguinary Laws against the *Quakers* in *New-England*, Mr. *Mather* was in *Europe*, when made and executed, and he had (blessed be God) neither Part nor Lot in that execrable Fact.

There were some others in *New-England*, who differed from the Churches there, in no other Article, but that of *Infant-Baptism*. Mr. *Mather* was so far from treating them in an unchristian Manner, that he bore a Part in ordaining a Pastor to a Church of *Baptists* in *Boston*. As for them, who cannot hold Communion with other Christians, who differ from them in no Point that touches any fundamental Article of Christianity, they are welcome to enjoy their own Sentiments: but they do well to forbear censuring others, whose Principles allow them to join at the Lord's-Supper with those, whom in Judgment of Charity they ought to believe Christ owns as his Disciples in this World, and to whom, at the Day of Judgment, he will say, *Come ye Blessed*.

§. 2. It was the ancient Faith of the Primitive Christians, that in the later Ages of the World, there would be great Peace enjoyed by the Church of God, the *Jews* restored to it, and that foreign Adversaries should not invade the Faithful, nor they disturb one another; concerning which I shall briefly give Mr. *Mather's* Thoughts. About the Year 1665, the *Jews* were under great Expectations about the Appearance of their *Messiah*. One *Sabbatai Sevi*, a *Jew*, appeared at *Smyrna*, proclaiming himself the *Messiah*, and was embraced as such by some of his infatuated Countrymen. He was very well versed in *Hebrew* Learning; he travelled to several Places, particularly to *Jerusalem*, where he set up for the *Messiah*, and was joined by one *Nathan*, who was to act the Part of *Elias*, and then would abolish their Fasts as improper, now the *Messiah* was come. *Nathan* prophesies, that *Sabbatai* should within two Years depose the *Grand Seignior*, and lead him in Chains. At *Gaza*, many Proselytes were made by him, whom he exhorted to repent, and to believe on himself. *Sabbatai* resolves for *Smyrna*, and then for *Constantinople*. He was adored by the People at *Smyrna*, though the *Chackam* forbad it, on which Account he was removed from his Office: Here four hundred of both Sexes prophesied of his growing Kingdom. Upon this he became so insolent, as to require the *Jews* no longer to pray for the *Grand Seignior* in their Synagogues. He elected Princes to lead the People to the Holy Land, and there to administer Justice. The People pressed to see him work some Miracles; and being before the *Cadi*, (a Magistrate) some affirmed, they saw a Pillar of Fire between him and *Sabbatai*. Others swore to the Truth of it, and the Belief of it so far prevailed, that now the Man was to be shunned as Excommunicated, who would not own *Sabbatai* to be the *Messiah*. He resolves for *C. P.* where he came after a troublesome

some Voyage, in *January* 1666. The *Vizier* sends for, and confines him in a loathsome Prison; from thence he was removed to the *Dardanells*, to prevent Insurrections in the *Vizier's* Absence, who was going to *Candia*. The *Jews* supposed, the *Turks* could not, or durst not, take away his Life. Here his Countrymen came from *Poland*, *Germany*, *Leghorn*, *Venice*, and other Places, to visit him; among others, *Nehemiah Cohen* from *Poland* proved a troublesome Visitant. He pretended there were to be two *Messiahs*, one the Son of *Ephraim*, who was to be a despised Teacher of the Law; the other the Son of *David*, who was to be a Conqueror. *Nehemiah* was to be the former, but expressed his Dislike at *Sabbatai's* Forwardness, in appearing as Son of *David*, before the Son of *Ephraim* had led him the Way. This produced a Quarrel; *Nehemiah* goes to *Adrianople*, and informs the Chief Ministers against *Sabbatai* as a dangerous Man.

The *Grand Seignior* sends for the Impostor, and requires a Miracle of him; which was, that *Sabbatai* should be set up as a Mark for his Archers to shoot at, and if the Arrows pierced not his Flesh, he would own him to be the *Messiah*. Here the Courage of *Sabbatai* failed him, not venturing to make the Experiment. The *Grand Seignior* threatens to impale him alive; upon which he consents to turn *Mahometan*, to the great Confusion of the *Jews*. The *English* Reader may please to consult Bishop *Kidder's* Demonstration, par. 3. Chap. 10. for a farther Account of *Sabbatai*, and some other Impostors.

The Report of these Commotions reached *New-England*, and gave occasion to Mr. *Mather* to entertain his Auditory at a Lecture, which he preached monthly, with elaborate Discourses on *Rom. xi. 26.* *All Israel shall be saved.* He publickly declared, that he believed the Motions then talked of would come to nothing. He believed a Time would come, when
the

the *Israelitish* Nation should be converted to the Christian Faith, and be restored to the Possession of the Land of their Ancestors. These Sermons were published in *London*. Mr. *Greenhill*, Mr. *Hooke*, and Mr. *Davenport*, wrote prefatory Commendations of them. And Mr. *Caryl*, the Author of the Comment on *Job*, when he had read the Book, said, *It was a rare thing, to find any where a Conjunction of so much Learning and Piety, as was in the Writer of that Treatise.* Twenty Years after, when he was in *London*, a Gentleman complimented him, as having long ago read a valuable Treatise, written, as he supposed, by his learned and pious Father, upon the *Mystery of Israel's Salvation*. After this, he pursued his Study of the prophetical Part of Scripture. He highly esteemed the Writings of that profound Scholar, *Joseph Mede*, and did for the most Part fall in with his Sentiments about the Destruction of *Antichrist*, the calling of the *Jews*, the first and second Resurrection, and the *Millennium*. He also wrote a *Latin* Book, which was printed in *Holland*, intituled, *Diatriba de Signo Filii Hominis, & de secundo Messie adventu.* Which Book so pleased Mr. *Matthew Mead*, that he made it his *Vade Mecum*, when he travelled in the *Low-Countries*. When he was compiling these Books, and when he was writing any Book, he would implore Assistance from God, and a Blessing on his Works; both which were evidently granted.



CHAP. V.

Adversities and Sickness.

§. 1.



O Man passes through this World without Afflictions. Mr. *Mather* had his Share.

In *April* 1669, his Father being Moderator of a Synod, convened at *Boston*, was there taken so ill, that he was obliged to return to *Dorchester*, Mr. *Mather* waiting on him thither. After little more than a Week's Torture with the Stone, which he bore with great Resignation, he expired. The History of his Life is in Mr. *Samuel Clark's* Collection. This was a sensible Affliction to Mr. *Mather*, who, in a dutiful Manner, attended on his Father in his last Hours.

On *July* following, his Brother *Eleazar* died, which obliged him to take a Journey to *Northampton*, for the Assistance of the Widow and People there: A violent Fever seized him at this Town.

Several serious Christians set apart a Day of Prayer for his Recovery. He was delivered from extream Pain, but the Fever continued; which occasioned the keeping of three several Days of Fasting and Prayer, on his Behalf. His Church at *Boston* kept a Fast for him, and sent a Physician to attend him in his Illness. God was merciful in restoring him, in due Time, to Health. Whilst the Sickness was upon him, he enjoyed an happy Serenity of Mind. He was resigned as to Life or Death; the great Reason of his desiring Life was, that he might be serviceable to the Interests of Religion.

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He returned to *Boston*, but his Strength was so prostrated, that he lay confined all the Winter, and it was doubtful, whether his publick Work was not over. This brought on him an *Ephialtes*, which, at Times, followed him the Remainder of his Life. Notwithstanding reduced to this low State of Health, he was not without Hope of being continued to honour God in the Discharge of his Office, because in many Places he was prayed for. God had brought him to his own House, after the Fever was removed, and many were desirous of his Life; and he himself was, more than ever, desirous of performing something, beyond what he had yet done, for the Glory of God.

In the Spring, *A. D.* 1670, he returned to his Pulpit, and entertained his Hearers with a Discourse on *Psal.* xciv. 12. For perfecting of his Health, it was thought advisable, that he should drink *Mineral Waters*. Accordingly he took Lodgings at *Lyn*, where he might have the Benefit of a *Chalybeat Spring*, that was well known through the Colony.

He spent a considerable Part of his Retirement, in this Place, in Devotion. He was in hopes that God, who designs eternal Glory for the Body, as well as for the Soul of a sincere Christian, would grant him a confirmed Health; which he principally desired, that he might be in a Capacity of actively glorifying his Redeemer. Whilst under a languishing State of Health, he had a Dejectedness of Mind, as is usual with Men, whose Animal Spirits have lost any Degree of their Vigour; but as Health, in God's Time, which is always best, returned, the Grievance was removed.

Once, as he was returning Home from *Lyn*, a pious Person desired those who were with him to go on, and then addressed Mr. *Mather* in Words to this Effect, "I am troubled at my Condition. I am

“ afraid I grieve the good Spirit of God, by not
 “ being so cheerful as I ought to be. I am deject-
 “ ed, and when under Afflictions, lay them too
 “ much to Heart; and herein, I doubt, I offend so
 “ gracious a Father as God has been to me.” He
 was astonished at the hearing of these Passages, which
 he applied to himself.

Soon after he wrote his Father's Life, which has
 been several Times printed. He also published the
 last Sermons of his Brother *Eleazar*, on 1 King.
 viii. 57. addressed to them who were coming to act
 upon the Stage.

He likewise prepared for the Press, a Book, inti-
 tuled, *Important Truths about Conversion*, which was
 printed at *London*; and several Years after, he saw it
 reprinted at *Boston*, with a Preface of Dr. *Owen's*,
 who therein gives him a valuable Character, and, a-
 mong other Things, says, *It is known unto all, to*
whom he is known, that he is a Person of singular good
Learning and Reading.

In his Diary, 1670, he wrote down some Things,
 which he principally desired, as, that *he might do some*
special Service for God before he left the World: That he
might leave something behind him, that might be doing of
Good after his Decease.

As to Sufferings, he was not unwilling to go
 through them, by the Assistance of Divine Grace.

Allow me to transcribe a few Lines, which I
 have read. “ I here take the Opportunity of ad-
 “ monishing young Divines to shun unwary Wishes,
 “ about the Dealings of God's Providence with
 “ them. Archbishop *Usher*, the Glory of his Age,
 “ did give this Advice to some, who thought Af-
 “ flictions a necessary Mark of Adoption. That
 “ no Christian should tempt God to shew such a
 “ Sign, as a Mark of his paternal Love; but to
 “ wait and be prepared for them, and patient under
 “ them, and to consider the Intention of them, so
 “ as

“ as to be the better for them. This incomparable
 “ Person, had, in his Youth, earnestly prayed, that
 “ God would deal with him in that Way: and from
 “ that Time, he was not without various Afflictions
 “ throughout the whole Course of his Life. It
 “ is certainly most advisable, to let Providence rule
 “ the World, without prescribing what Measures
 “ shall be taken, as to our own particular Affairs.

Had Mr. *Mather* wished, that he might, when past active Service for the Honour of God, suffer Martyrdom; He had an Equivalent granted to him in the last Weeks of his Life, as will be shewn in the Sequel.

§. 2, Personal Afflictions are, generally speaking, more sensibly resented, than the general Calamities that invade the Publick, except by generous Minds. Mr. *Mather* was deeply affected with the deplorable State of his native Country, by a War that raged in several Parts of the Province. In the Year 1674, he took Notice of the prevailing Sins of the Time; and concluding, that Divine Justice would appear in some Judgment on the Place, he preached a Sermon on *Ezek. vii. 7. The Day of Trouble is near.* It was printed, and the Reverend Mr. *Urian Oakes*, in his Preface to it, calls it a *solid, succinct, and comprehensive Discourse.* This was soon dispersed through the Country; and it had a Shadow of something prophetic in it, for notwithstanding *New-England* was at that Time in a profound Peace, yet the next proved the most bloody Year, that had been known since the first Plantation of the Colonies.

Philip, an *Indian* King, seduced the Natives into a War, the Fury of which was extended to the greatest Part of the Country.

The History of that War has been written by several Hands, and is in the *Magnalia*, &c. to which I must refer the Reader.

Mr.

Mr. *Mather* took occasion to reprove, in the most publick Manner, those Miscarriages, which he judged had provoked God to execute the Punishment of War on the Land.

At the same Time, there being a sad Prospect of a general Poverty coming on the Province, many being reduced to great Penury, by the Ruin of their Houses and Farms, he did, by his Letters, procure a Ship Load of Provision from the Charity of his Friends in *Dublin*; and from *London* a considerable Sum of Money, and many Garments, to be distributed among the Indigent.

Divine Providence did, at length, deliver the Colonies from the War, and gave Answers to the Prayers that were with Fervency offered unto the Throne of Grace.

It will be taken for granted, that Mr. *Mather* did, on all Occasions of Worship, implore the Relief which was to be looked for in the chief Place from God. Nor did he, nor the holy Ministers and Christians pray in vain. He, at a solitary Fast, made it one Article of Request, that God would deliver up *Philip*, who had been the Ringleader of the Villanies and Barbarities, that had been committed in the War. It was not long, before this was accomplished; and *Philip* came to a tragical Death, as the History of that War relates.

§. 3. Another Trial befel Mr. *Mather*, in 1676, when his House was burnt, and the North Church, with several Streets of Houses. He lost above one hundred Books out of his Library; and they were in great Measure made good, by the honourable Relict of Dr. *Leonard Hoar*. There is something surprizing in the Impressions which are made on Mens Minds, which are not to be accounted for by the Mechanick Laws of Matter and Motion. Mr. *Mather* had a strange Apprehension of this Trial's coming on him, and his Friends in the Neighbourhood,

hood; and spoke of it publickly, as a Thing which he feared, as is well known to some who are now living, and was so to many who are dead. Whether he had observed some Vices prevail, which Men would not reform; or because, Deliverance from former Calamities was not so thankfully acknowledged, as it ought to have been, he was afraid another sort of Judgment would be executed, and that, besides Fire and Sword, some mortal Sickness would seize the Place. He signified his Fears of the Event in publick. His Friends were concerned at it. But it fell out, as he found, for in 1678, the Small-Pox proved a great Calamity to the Country. In *Boston* it was very mortal.

§. 4. These Trials raised a Concern in the Minds of several Ministers, to enquire into the Reason of them. For as Divine Providence rules the World, we are on no account to suppose, that God delights in the Misery of his Creatures; and consequently, publick Judgments put Men in mind of publick Sins, which must be reformed, or a Nation or Province may fear repeated Discoveries of God's Indignation. A *Synod* was summoned 1679, of all the Churches of the Colony. It was observed, that notwithstanding a Succession of Judgments, yet upon the abating or removing of the Calamity, there was a Neglect of Reformation. It was therefore judged high Time to enquire, with due Solemnity, into the Grounds of God's Displeasure.

It is true, God has not engaged to bestow temporal Peace on his Church; and some, who have been the best reformed in the World, have been severely persecuted, as well as other apostatizing Christians, who give just Provocation to the *Son of God*, to take away the Protections of his Providence, *Eusebius* observes (*Hist. L. 8. c. 1.*) that the increasing Wickedness, and wretched Impenitency of the Christians, made Way for that cruel Persecution, which

which fell out in his Time. It is the Wisdom of a Christian Kingdom or State, to look upon Repentance, as their Duty, when under Judgments, as ever they hope to have publick Calamities removed. Mr. *Mather* joined with, and excited others, to address the Government, to convene a Synod, which they did, to consider *what the Evils were that had provoked God to bring his Judgments on New-England, and what was to be done; that so these Evils may be reformed.* There was a general Fast through the Colony, and Supplications made for a Divine Presence to accompany the Synod, which met at *Boston*, September 10, 1679, and the Ministers kept a Day of Fast, at which Mr. *Mather* was chose to preach, on one Part, and Mr. *Cobbet*, on the other Part of the Day. Several Days were spent in free Discourse on the Questions that were to be debated. The Result of the whole, with a Preface, was drawn up by Mr. *Mather*; who on the Day, when it was presented to the Government, preached a Sermon *on the Danger of not being reformed.* Hereupon the Civil Powers recommended it to the serious Consideration of the Churches and People in their Jurisdiction. This proved very useful. Many of the Churches renewed their Covenant, and a considerable Check was given to the disorderly Practices which had been complained of.

On May 12, 1680, the Synod had a second Session at *Boston*, when the *Confession of Faith* was agreed upon. Mr. *Mather* was chosen Moderator, and with an unusual Dispatch, in a little time they finished their Business. He composed *the Preface to the Confession.* He had but just finish'd this Work, when being seiz'd by a Fever, he was confin'd to his Bed. It turn'd into an Ague, which was attended with a Cough that threaten'd a Consumption. His Life was almost despair'd of. Many Persons pray'd for his Life. His own Church, on this Occasion,

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again shewed their Love to, and Value for him, in keeping three Days of Prayer for him, that his Life might be prolong'd, and his Health restor'd.

On one of those Days, old Apostolical Mr. *Eliot* preach'd on *John xi. 3. Lord, behold he whom thou lovest is sick.* After Sermon he visited Mr. *Mather*, and express'd great Hopes of his Recovery ; nor was he disappointed. The first Sermon Mr. *Mather* preach'd after this Sickness, was on *Phil. i. 20. For me to live is Christ.* His own Church did honour him, with keeping a Day of publick Thanksgiving for his being restor'd to them.

About this time died Mr. *Urian Oakes*, the Reverend and Learned President of *Harvard College* ; which open'd a new Scene of Action, which will be consider'd in the Process of the History.

To evidence his Gratitude to God, he made it his great Business to render the Weekly Meeting of the Ministers as useful as possible. Mr. *Eliot* spake to him, to promote the Benefit of their assembling ; signifying, that God took Notice of what was done among them ; and that Mr. *Mather*, being a leading Man, should bring them forward to as much Good as might be, in these Meetings. Herein Mr. *Mather* follow'd the Example of Mr. *Mitchel*, who was admirable for his publick Spirit, as well as for the other Branches of his Character.

§. 5. In the Year 1683, there arriv'd a Declaration from King *Charles II.* signifying, that unless the Country made a full Submission, and an entire Resignation of their Charter to his Pleasure, a *Quo Warranto* against it should be prosecuted. The Question was ask'd Mr. *Mather*, whether such a Surrender might be made lawfully ?

To which he wrote an Answer, wherein he demonstrated, they would neither act the Part of good Christians, nor of true *Englishman*, if they should be accessory to the Design which was then managing,

of ruining the Liberties of the Subject. This so much influenced the Freemen, as that it prevented their complying with what was demanded. This open Defence of the Liberties of his Native Country, expos'd him to the Rage of some Men; but it discourag'd him not from declaring his Sentiments, at a publick Assembly of the Freemen of *Boston*, Jan. 23, 1683. They were then to give Instructions to their Deputies for the general Court. Mr. *Mather* was present at their Request; and being urg'd to give them his Thoughts, on the *Question* before them, he answer'd to this effect, That he judg'd it would be a Sin to resign their Charter, by which their Liberties and Properties were held: That it would not be Wisdom to comply with the unreasonable Demand: But that it were better to fall into the Hands of God, than of Men: That *a full Submission, and entire Resignation to Pleasure*, would be a delivering of themselves immediately into the Hands of Men: But if they did not thus, they left themselves in the Hands of God, whose Providence might effect more than at present was seen.

He also insisted on the Examples of others, who had accelerated their Miseries, by being too hasty in parting with their Privileges; and that the Citizens of *London* had declar'd, they would not *make a full Submission, and entire Resignation to Pleasure*, lest their Posterity should curse them for it. Upon finishing his Speech, there was a general Acclamation among the Freemen, *We thank you, Sir; we thank you, Sir.* The Question was, upon the Vote, carried in the Negative, *Nemine Contradicente.* And this Act of *Boston* had a considerable Influence on the Country in general. It highly enrag'd the adverse Party, who, at present, had no other way than by Words, to shew their Malice against Mr. *Mather*. In the Sequel, it will appear, they cou'd not put up such
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an Opposition to their Designs, as has been related, without revenging it on a Leading Man.

§. 6. New Tryals came on. In the Year 1684, a dangerous Fever seiz'd him. Many Prayers were made to God in his behalf. He was restored to his Pulpit, and preach'd on *Isai. xxxviii. 18, 19.* which Discourse has been printed.

About this time, some wicked Men circumvented Letters of Mr. *Mather's* writing to a worthy Person at *Amsterdam*, which contain'd nothing that could give Offence to the Higher Powers. These Letters enabled them to imitate his Hand, in subscribing of his Name. They forg'd a Letter full of impertinent, as well as treasonable Expressions, whereof not one Sentence was his; and with a Date, *Boston 10 m. 3 d. 1683.* they subscribed his Name to it. This Letter was read before the King and Council. It was fear'd, that it would have been his Ruin. Mr. *Mather* was concern'd, to think that he was like to suffer as an Evil Doer. Had it been for any Truth, which he had advanc'd, he would have rejoic'd in it.

But here it ought to be consider'd, that most, if not all, the faithful Ministers of Jesus Christ, are, or have been, expos'd to the vilest Reproaches, which wicked Men, Hypocrites, and Apostates, can cast upon them.

The great Affection of Mr. *Mather's* Friends appear'd at this Juncture: They offer'd their fervent Prayers to God for his Safety. He himself resolv'd (by Divine Assistance) that if God would save him from the Evil that was design'd against him, he would endeavour more to glorifie God, than he had as yet done. It is probable the *Letter* carried such Evidences of its being a Forgery, to the Ministers of State, as occasion'd the dropping of any Prosecution.

Sir *Roger L'Estrange* did, in several of his *Observers*, publish some Scraps of the *forged Letter*, with his

his Comments. Copies of it were carried to *Barbadoes* and the *Caribbee* Islands, and were made part of the Entertainment, whilst the chearful Bowl was employ'd to drown their Thoughts. Mr. *Mather* look'd beyond second Causes; and acknowledg'd God's Goodness, in that he should esteem him worthy to suffer Reproach; which, it's probable, he might have escap'd; had he been willing to have violated the Peace of his Conscience.



CHAP. VI.

Mr. Mather's Agency for New-England, at the Court, from 1688, to 1692.

§. 1.



New Scene of Sufferings, and of Action, does now open itself. Judgment was enter'd against the Charter of *Massachusetts* Colony. The Religion of the Country render'd it obnoxious to the higher Powers; and their refusing to surrender their Charter, added to the Provocation. It was fear'd, that a Governour would be sent, who might think himself oblig'd to act in such a manner, as to make the Colony resemble *Scotland*, or reform'd *France*.

Mr. *Mather*, as well as all who had any Sense of Religion on their Minds, did, with great Fervor, implore God's Mercy. The Storm was diverted. King *Charles* the Second dying, prevented a Governor coming for a Time; and such Alterations fell out, as made Way for the happy Settlement of the Province.

In the Year 1686, King *James* II. sent a Governor to *New-England*, with a Commission, that enabled

enabled him, with three or four other Men (whereof none were chosen by the People) to make what Laws, and levy what Taxes they pleased; and the Governour had Power to send the best Men in the Land out of it, if he thought fit. I shall not enter into a Detail of the Transactions of those Times; they have already been publish'd. But to give Light to the following Part of the Account of Mr. *Mather's* Life, it will be requisite to observe, that upon a Pretence of the *Charter's* being vacated, they who were in the Government, gave out, that the Inhabitants had no Title to their Lands; and thereupon began to compel People to take *Patents* for their Estates: Accordingly Writs of Intrusion were issued out against the chief Gentlemen of the Colony; by which some were terrified to petition for *Patents*, for Estates they had been in Possession of for fifty or sixty Years. For these *Patents* the most exorbitant Rates were demanded; *fifty Pounds* could not purchase for its Owner, what was not worth two hundred Pounds.

These Proceedings raised a Ferment in the Country. The Learned, Reverend, and Peaceable Mr. *Charles Morton* was prosecuted, as if he had utter'd seditious Words. And it will not be long, before Mr. *Mather* has a Trouble resembling what befel Mr. *Morton*. I shall distinctly write of it, because it is lamely represented by a Scoundrel, from whom, a Writer about Witchcraft, and the Abstracter of the *New-England History*, have injudiciously borrow'd some frivolous Passages.

§. 2. King *James II.* after he had been some time on the Throne, publish'd his *Declaration for Liberty of Conscience*. Whatever the secret or true Design of this Toleration was, belongs not to the present History to enquire. It prov'd of Advantage to the People of *New-England*, whose Religious Liberties were near expiring, as well as their

Civil Rights. They were told by some in Power, *They must not think to have the Privileges of Englishmen follow them to the Ends of the Earth ; and they had no more Privileges left, but this, That they were not bought and sold for Slaves.* Upon the coming out of the *Declaration, &c.* several Ministers, and their Churches, did, at Mr. *Mather's* Motion, make an Address of Thanks to the King, for the Benefit enjoy'd by this Declaration.

The Adversary was enrag'd at the Address ; when the Ministers of *Boston* agreed with their Churches to keep a Day of Thanksgiving, for the Liberty and Protection which they, and others, hereby enjoy'd. The Governor menac'd them, that he would set Soldiers to guard their Church-Doors, if they did assemble for that Purpose. They did thereupon desist.

Several Gentlemen were of Opinion, that if a Person were sent to *England*, with the Addresses of the Churches, to the King, it might be of Service to the Colony ; considering the Court, upon *Political Views*, began to cast a favourable Aspect upon some Protestant Dissenters. They fix'd on Mr. *Mather*, whom they judg'd a Person qualified to manage the Affair. He would not undertake it, without previous Addresses to God for Direction. He put the Matter on this Issue ; If his Church consented to it, he would proceed in the Undertaking ; if they did not, he would desist. They signified their unanimous Consent : This determin'd Mr. *Mather* in his Resolution. I know some think Ministers go out of their *Sphere*, when they interpose in Civil Affairs ; and, generally speaking, it's true : But when Matters are reduc'd to an Extremity, every Man is oblig'd to exert himself.

The learned *Luke Holsten*, in his Dissertation, *de Fugâ Episcopatus*, speaks of it, as the last Relief of a miserable Place. The People would choose a Bishop who was a Person of Learning, and Interest, to de-
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send their Civil Rights, and rescue them from Oppression. Thus *Synesius* was chosen by the Men of *Ptolemais* to be their Bishop, and employ'd on an Embassage to the Imperial Court.

The arbitrary Rulers of the Province resolv'd to stop the Voyage ; which was contriv'd to be effected by a Law-Suit. Take the Matter thus,

A Copy of the forg'd Letter, which was before-mention'd, coming over to *New-England*, Mr. *Mather* did, in a Letter to a Gentleman who had it, write a Vindication of himself, and therein nam'd a Person whom he suspected to have a hand in the Contrivance. This was laid hold of, and the Man is made a Tool, and accordingly arrests Mr. *Mather* in an Action of Defamation, and five hundred Pounds Damage.

It was next to a Miracle, that tricking and fraudulent Practices had not ruin'd Mr. *Mather* : But that God, whom he serv'd, and to whom he constantly address'd himself for Protection, deliver'd him out of the Danger. The *Jury* clear'd Mr. *Mather*, and order'd the Plaintiff to pay *Costs of Court*. The intended Voyage to *England* went on. He waited on the Governor, acquainting him with his Intention ; and gave the Country Notice of it, in a Sermon, at the Lecture at *Boston*, preach'd to a numerous Auditory, on *Exod. xxxiii. 15. If thy presence go not with us, carry us not up from hence.*

Hereupon the former Tool, assisted by another Person, privately sent an Officer to arrest him once more, upon the same Action. But Mr. *Mather* was, at that time, confin'd to his Chamber ; taking Care of his Health, and so the Officer was denied Entrance.

The Tool's Adjutant gave out, that Mr. *Mather* was arrested. This Report was soon spread over the Town ; and being brought to Mr. *Mather*, he kept upon his Guard, and withdrew, privately, to the House of Colonel *Philips*, at *Charlestown* : And it was remarkable, a Fellow of no extraordinary Character, who

who was plac'd as an Under-Sheriff, to watch and seize Mr. *Mather*, if he stirr'd abroad, did see him, and knew him; yet found himself under such a Consternation, as disabled him from hindring Mr. *Mather's* Retreat.

Mr. *Mather* went from thence to a private Farm; and from thence on board a Vessel, that convey'd him to the Ship, in which he embark'd for *England*, April 7. 1688. After the Ship had made Land, they narrowly escap'd being wreck'd on the Rocks of *Scilly*. And they escap'd another Danger, which some proling Fishermen of *St. Fres* would have drawn them into: Mr. *Mather* prevail'd on one of the Company, (whom he took aside, and bestow'd a few Half-Crowns upon) to speak the Truth.

The Ship alter'd its Course, and came up the *British Channel*: A *Weymouth* Boat coming by the Ship, he went in it to that Town. He had, in these Parts, the Satisfaction to find several of his worthy Friends alive, whom he had not seen for the space of twenty seven Years.

I have been more distinct in this Account, as having been an Eye-Witness of most of the Acts and Events rehearsed; and hope it may serve as a Caution to Writers, not to transcribe from one who has given a false and ridiculous Account of this Affair.

Before I dismiss this Article, I would observe, that the Tool who was employ'd to prosecute Mr. *Mather*, prov'd a blasted Wretch, follow'd with a visible Curse wherever he came. He died in one of the Plantations, in miserable Circumstances. Nor is this the only Instance that can be produc'd, of Divine Vengeance pursuing the secret, or open, Adversaries of the Ambassadors of *Jesus Christ*.

§. 3. The Business he came upon was too momentous to be trifled with: Mr. *Mather* therefore, without much Delay, proceeded on his Journey to *London*, where he arriv'd the latter end of *May*, 1688.

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An eminent Person, often at Court, inform'd the King of his coming with Addresses, and at the Time which the King had appointed, he presented them ; and being order'd to do so, he read them standing, the one from several Towns in the *Massachusetts*, the other from *Plymouth*. The King express'd his gracious Acceptance of them, adding, You shall have a *Magna Charta* for Liberty of Conscience.

In a short time after, he was admitted again into the King's Presence, expressing the Gratitude of the Colony, for the King's having deliver'd them from the Fear of a future Persecution. The King more distinctly enquir'd, whether the Governor gave good Satisfaction to his Subjects. Mr. *Mather* in a few Words, laid before his Majesty the State of the Country, some being fin'd and imprison'd, because they refus'd to swear by the Book.

The Address lately presented was signed by a few ; but it would have had the Hands of more Ministers, if they had not been discouraged by the Governor ; one of the Council saying, They should make no Addresses to the King, without their Leave. That when the Ministers of *Boston* proposed the keeping of a Day of Thanksgiving, the Governor bade them keep it at their Peril ; and assur'd them, if they did, he would clap Guards on their Persons and Churches too.

The King expressed a Surprise at it, since the Governors of other Plantations had sent Addresses of Thanks for the Declaration. Mr. *Mather* added, It was the Hope of his Subjects in *New-England*, that God would incline him to relieve them, when once a true Representation of their State should be made unto him. The King appointed him to bring to him, in Writing, their Grievances : Upon this, Mr. *Mather* kneel'd ; the King offering his Hand, he kiss'd it, and withdrew. Immediately he prepar'd a Memorial of the Grievances, and a Petition for their Redress.

He could not propose a Restitution of the vacated Charter, but aim'd at having Liberty of Conscience established, and a Confirmation of the Inhabitant's Title to their Lands, as also the Liberty of an Assembly. He had nothing more at Heart, than the Interest of the College there; whereof he was now the *Rector*.

Having the Favour of some of the Lords of the Privy-Council, he waited again on the King, (*July 2.*) and presented, kneeling, his *Memorial and Petition*; the King put forth his Hand to take him up, said, *You shall not kneel, Sir*; and received the Papers out of his Hand, saying, *I suppose these Papers concern New-England, and are about the same Things upon which you had some Discourse with me not long since*; adding, he would take Care about them.

Mr. *Mather* was accompanied with two Gentlemen, whom the King treated as his Favourites: Both of them declar'd, that if his Majesty shew'd Favour to *New-England*, it would have a good Influence on the Body of Dissenters in *England*. Whereto the King reply'd, *He believ'd so, and it should be done*.

Mr. *Mather* took Occasion to beg the King's Favour for the *College*, that it might not be taken out of the Hands of them, who were of the same Principles with those who first founded it. The King gave him gracious Words.

In *September* following, Mr. *Mather* was again admitted into the King's Presence, begging that Matters might be expedited. The King assured him, that he *would take Care they should be done with Expedition*. These were Promises without Effect. Whilst managing these Negotiations, Mr. *Mather* made as many Friends as possible: And Mr. *William Pen*, who was, at that time, a Person of considerable Figure at Court, treated him with much Civility; and the Lord Chancellor *Jefferies* look'd on him with more Humanity than was expected. But he wholly de-
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clin'd any Conversation with the King's Confessor, never exchanging ten Words with him : Which I the rather add, that it may appear how false the Report was, which some Persons rais'd, of an Intimacy between them. There was a Resemblance in their Stature, and their Cloaths being black, this brought Mr. *Mather* once in Danger of being mobb'd ; but the Mistake was soon discover'd.

He again waited on the King, (*October 1688*) who positively told him, that all he had promised should be perform'd. But upon a false Report of the Prince of *Orange's* Expedition being diverted, a new Delay was put upon the Affair. Nor was there any farther Application made to the King, to grant Defence and Relief to his Subjects in *New-England*.

It was afterwards publish'd in *the Account of the State of the Protestants in Ireland*, " That one thing, " suggested by the *Irish* Catholicks to King *James*, " was, That if any of the *Irish* cannot have Lands " in Specie, but Money in lieu, some of them may " transport themselves to *America*, particularly near " *New-England*, to check the growing Independents " of that Country. But a Revolution, in a little time, defeated the Designs of advancing and extending the *Roman-Catholick* Faith.

§. 4. The News of the Revolution in *England*, upon the coming over of the Prince of *Orange*, soon arrived in *New-England*; whereupon they seizing and imprisoning the Governor, and others, sent them over to *England*.

The Prince having declared, that the Restoration of Charters was one thing design'd by him, my Lord *Wharton* introduc'd Mr. *Mather* into his Presence, at *St. James's*; and upon presenting a Petition to his Highness, that Noble Lord gave a very good Character of the People of *New-England*; adding, They did not petition for Money, nor for Soldiers, nor any other Succours, but for their ancient Privileges.

His Highness reply'd, *He would take the best Care he could about it, and he would give Order to his Secretary, Mr. Jephson, concerning it.* My Lord immediately goes to Mr. Jephson, and said, *Cousin, (for such he was) observe this Gentleman, and whenever he (i. e. Mr. Mather) comes to you, receive him, as if I came myself.*

In a few Days there were circular Letters, drawn up to all the Plantations, and unto *New-England*, among the rest, *confirming all their old Governors, until further Order.* The Secretary acquainted Mr. Mather with it, who was sufficiently apprehensive of the Ruin of his Friends in *New-England*, if such a Letter had been sent, as would not only have set at Liberty the imprison'd Rulers, but have reinstated them in their Authority, and consequently have put them into a Capacity of executing the severest Revenge. Mr. Mather so effectually remonstrated it to the Secretary, who represented the Matter to the Prince, that he gave Order to stop the Letter to *New-England*; but those design'd for the other Plantations did proceed, as was at first intended. Mr. Mather's Friends would have reckon'd his Voyage well rewarded, if he had done no other Service but this for the Colony.

New-England has been as much reviled by the scoundrel Part of the Nation, as any Place. Their Adversaries have endeavour'd to raise disadvantageous Reports of the Colonies, which have gradually reach'd the Throne. Mr. Mather being sensible of this, look'd upon it to be his Duty to wipe off the Reproach. Accordingly, on *March 14, 1689.* being introduc'd by my Lord Wharton, he made his Application to the King, in favour of the Country, which he did in very few Words.

The King said, he believ'd they were a good People, but he doubted there had been Irregularities in their Government. Mr. Mather assur'd his Majesty, they

they would, at the first word, reform any Irregularities they shall be advised of. My Lord *Wharton* added, I will be their Guarantee, and here is Mr. *Mather*, the Rector of the College there, shall be the other. We two will stand bound for *New-England*.

The King declared, that the late Governor should be called to an Account, and that the former Magistrates (those who were in Authority before Arbitrary Power invaded the Place) should be directed to proclaim the present King and Queen.

If I have been too particular in this Article, my Excuse is, My Gratitude to the late *Philip Lord Wharton*, for his condescending to treat Mr. *Mather* with singular Respect, and his Zeal for the Welfare of *New-England*, demand the most publick Acknowledgment; and the best Elogium that can be given of his Lordship's promoting the Interest of an oppress'd Province, is to give a plain Narrative of Matters of Fact.

Mr. *Mather* did, with the utmost Assiduity, endeavour the resettling of *New-England* on their Charter Foundation: And consulting several Persons, who were every way capable of giving him Advice, it was judg'd, that a Reversion of the Judgment against the *Massachusetts Charter*, by Act of Parliament, should be endeavour'd; and afterwards, the King should be petition'd for additional Privileges; without which, the old Charter would not prove such a Settlement, as was necessary to render the Colony prosperous and flourishing.

Mr. *Mather* made his Applications to several of the leading Men in the Convention Parliament, to favour the Reversion of the Judgment against the Charter.

The Effect was, The House of Commons put the *New-England Charters* into the Charter-Bill; and it was voted, that the taking of them away was a Grievance,

vance, and that they should be restored; and a considerable Interest was made in the House of Lords, that when the Bill should be brought up, the Interest of *New-England* might be promoted.

In *July* 1689, Mr. *Mather* was again introduc'd by my Lord *Wharton*, into the King's Presence, at *Hampton-Court*. He there assur'd the King, how ready his Subjects in *New-England* were to venture their Lives and Estates in his Service, (of which they had given ample Demonstration) and all that was desir'd on their Behalf, was, a Restoration to their ancient Rights and Privileges. The King graciously declar'd, he would do all that was in his Power, that it might be so. Mr. *Matthew Mead*, who was then present, added, that his Majesty could not do any thing more grateful to his Dissenting Subjects in *England*, than his favouring of *New-England*, in restoring of their former Privileges. The King replied, They might rest satisfied, that it should be done.

While the *Charter Bill* was depending, the Convention Parliament was first unexpectedly prorogu'd, and then dissolv'd; by which, all that had hitherto been endeavour'd, and aim'd at, was frustrated. The following Parliament did not seem to be of a Disposition to favour *New-England*. Mr. *Mather* made some Essays, to see if by a *Writ of Error in Judgment*, the Case relating to the *Massachuset Colony*, might be brought out of *Chancery* into the *King's-Bench*; but this Attempt was frustrated.

The only thing that remain'd to be done, was, to Petition the King for a new Charter, that should contain all the *Old*, with new, and more ample Privileges; without which, the *Old* would not have been sufficient.

Mr. *Mather*, with two other Agents, which the *Massachuset Colony* had joined with him, sign'd a Petition to the King, for such a Charter. The Right Honour-

Honourable the *Earl of Monmouth* did present it with his own Hand to the King, who was prevail'd upon to refer the Affairs of *New-England* to the two Lord Chief Justices, and the King's Attorney and Solicitor-General: All of whom Mr. *Mather's* Applications had prevail'd with, to favour the Interests of *New-England*.

They met several times, and gave him Leave to be present. The Heads of the old Charter, and Sir *Ferdinando Griges's*, and the several additional Privileges which were requested, were presented in Writing; and they all judg'd, that nothing unreasonable, or prejudicial to the King's Interest, was desired. The Lord Chief Justice *Holt* presented them to the King, who directed him to lay them before the Council, which he did; and, from thence, they were transferr'd to the *Lords of the Committee for Trade, and for Plantations*.

The King's Voyage to *Holland* interrupted the Progress of the Affair. Mr. *Mather* now publish'd *Reasons for the Confirmation of the Charter Privileges, granted to the Massachusetts Colony*: Which being printed, he offered to the Lords of the Privy-Council, and personally address'd himself to most of them, humbly praying their Favour for *New-England*, in a Matter that appear'd so just and equitable. He knew, that to gain the Leading Men in Affairs, was the direct way to accomplish what was aim'd at. If he knew any Nonconformist Minister, who had an Interest in the Nobility, he would engage him to make use of it for the Advantage of *New-England*.

Several Noblemen brought him into Favour with others; but none did more for him, than the Noble *Philip Lord Wharton*. Among those eminent Persons, who treated him with singular Respect, was that admirable Man, Dr. *John Tillotson*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*; who, at his Desire, did kind Offices with the King and Queen, for *New-England*; and once

went so far as to say to the King, *It would by no means be well for him to take away any of those Privileges from the People of New-England, which King Charles I. had granted them.*

Dr. Burnet, Bishop of Sarum, did treat Mr. Mather with great Civility. Among other things, he said he would, on the first Opportunity, declare in the House of Lords, *That there was a greater Sacredness in the Charter of New-England, than in those of the Corporations in England, which were only Acts of Grace; but the Charter of New-England was a Contract between the King and first Patentees. They promised the King to enlarge his Dominions on their own Charge; provided that they, and their Posterity, might enjoy such and such Privileges: They had performed their Part; now for the King to deprive their Posterity of the Privileges therein granted them, would carry a Face of Injustice in it.*

Mr. Mather was introduced into the *Queen's* Presence, by Madam Lockhart. He then pray'd her Majesty's Favour to her Subjects in *New-England*, who constantly pray'd for her. He represented the Troubles they were expos'd unto, on the Account of their Loyalty to King *William*, and to her Majesty; the *French* from *Canada* having made an Irruption into *New-England*, and destroy'd several Plantations, giving this Reason for what they did; The People of *New-England* had declar'd for King *William* and Queen *Mary*. What was requested on their Behalf, was, their Restoration to those Privileges which they were possess'd of, until the last Year of King *Charles II.*

That it had been referr'd to the two Lord Chief Justices, with the Attorney and Solicitor-General. It was now only pray'd, that the Articles approved of by them, might be allow'd of and confirm'd.

The *Queen* replied, I would not only have that which is *just* done for them, but that something of Favour should be shewn to them; and that what was

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petition'd for, seemed reasonable, that without doubt it would be done.

Mr. *Mather* took Occasion to say, he had reason to believe her Majesty's Subjects in *New-England* had been misrepresented to her Majesty ; and that Sir *William Phips* had, with many of her Majesty's Subjects there, endeavoured to enlarge her Dominions ; and were willing again to expose themselves in her Majesty's Service, notwithstanding they were in a bad State, by reason of their Government's remaining unsettled : But if, by her Majesty's Favour, they should be restor'd to their former Privileges, they would become able to serve her Majesty's Interest.

The *Queen* was graciously pleased to express her Willingness to do all she could for them, saying, That she had heard they were in a bad Condition, which her Majesty attributed to their Government not being settled ; farther saying, She doubted there had been Differences there, as well as here, about Church-Government. Mr. *Mather* replied, That in *New-England*, they were generally those who were call'd Nonconformists ; but they carried it with all due respect to others : That they judg'd some of them to be better Men than themselves ; and that this Nation had Cause to bless God for the King, and for her Majesty, in regard of the Act of Indulgence, which, through their Majesties Favour, was now enjoy'd. The *Queen* gave an Answer, which ought never to be forgotten ; her Words were to this Effect, 'Tis what I am for. " It is not in the Power
 " of Men to believe what they please ; and there-
 " fore, I think, they should not be forc'd in Mat-
 " ters of Religion, contrary to their Persuasions, and
 " their Consciences. I wish all good Men were
 " of one Mind ; however, in the mean time, I
 " would have them live peaceably, and love one an-
 " other.

In a short time the King return'd from *Holland*, and made about a Fortnight's Stay in *England*; in which time, Mr. *Mather* twice had the Honour of waiting on him. The first time he only presented an Address from the *General Court at Boston*, with a Petition from a considerable Number of Merchants in *London*, praying, that *Charter Privileges* might be restor'd to *New-England*. Within a few Days after, the *Duke of Devonshire* introduc'd him into the King's Presence. Mr. *Mather* did humbly thank his Majesty, in that he was graciously pleased to signify to my Lord of *Devonshire*, that he might have Leave to wait on his Majesty, on behalf of *New-England*. The King ask'd what he desir'd to be done?

Mr. *Mather*, in a few Words, express'd what was petition'd for; adding, *Your Majesty has been graciously pleased to refer the Consideration of this Affair to the two Lord Chief Justices, with the Attorney and Solicitor-General. We only pray humbly, that what they thought reasonable for us to desire, may be granted by your Majesty.* The King signified, that he expected, within a few Days, to have a Report from the Lords of the Committee for Trade, and foreign Plantations; and then he should see what was to be done.

Mr. *Mather* having the Tranquility of the Colony, as the great Object of his Pursuit at this time, said to the King, *Your Majesty's Subjects in New-England have been willing to venture their Lives, that they may enlarge your Dominions; and are willing to do the like again, if your Majesty will encourage them. Will your Majesty please, in your great Wisdom, to consider the Circumstances of that People, as in your Wisdom you have consider'd the Circumstances of England, and of Scotland? In New-England they differ from other Plantations; they are such as are called Congregational and Presbyterian. So that such a Governor will not suit with the People of New-England, as may be very proper for the other English Plantations.* Upon this
Mr.

Mr. *Mather* withdrew. The King, as will appear in the sequel, was pleased with what was now spoken.

Two Days after this, the Lords of the Committee proposed unto the King, Whether he would have the People of *New-England* make what Laws, and appoint what Officers they pleased? Or whether he would not appoint a Governor of his own, that should have a negative Voice on all Acts of Government?

The King was inquisitive to know, whether he might, without Breach of Law, set a Governor over that Colony? Divers Lords of the Council, and some Judges, declared, that whatever might be the Merit of the Cause, yet since the Charter of *Massachusetts* Colony stood vacated, by a Judgment against it, his Majesty had Power to put them under what Form of Government he might think best for them. The King signified his Desire to promote the Welfare of the Plantation; and that he believ'd it would be for the Advantage of his Subjects there, to be under a Governor appointed by the Crown: But that he would allow the Agents of *New-England* to nominate a Person that might be agreeable to the People; and he would have *Charter Privileges restor'd and confirm'd to them.*

The King began his Voyage to *Holland*: On the next Day an Order of Council was drawn up for a Charter to be prepared, with something in it which Mr. *Mather* apprehended would not be for the Interest of the Colony. He immediately waited on several of the Lords of the Council, with his Remonstrances; and supposing it to be not agreeable to his Majesty's Intentions, he had a Copy of the Order transmitted to one of the Principal Secretaries of State then with the King in *Flanders*; praying, that if that Order were not according to his Majesty's Mind, the King would graciously please to sig-

signifie his Disapprobation of it. But nothing of that nature came. The Attorney-General prepared a Draught of a *Charter*, wherein the King's Governor had not a *Negative* allow'd him, but the Council rejected it; and Order was given for other *Minutes* to be drawn, which depriv'd the *Massachusetts* Colony of some very considerable Privileges enjoy'd under the *old Charter*. A Copy was given Mr. *Mather*, with an Order, that if the Agents for the Colony were not satisfied, they should bring in their Objections to Mr. *Attorney-General*. When Mr. *Mather* had seen the *Minutes*, he told Mr. *Attorney-General*, he would sooner lose his Life, than consent to that which would infringe any Liberty or Privilege, that justly belong'd to his Country.

This was all that he could do. For some of the chief Ministers of State told him, That if the Agents for the Colony would not submit to the King's Pleasure, his Majesty would settle the Country as he pleased, and they were to *take what would follow*, they not being Plenipotentiaries from another Sovereign State. Mr. *Mather* drew up, and presented to the *Attorney-General*, his Objections against the *Minutes*; and they were laid before the Council, and the Copy of them was sent to the King in *Flanders*. Some thought, that if the King were in *England*, there would be a greater Probability of preventing the *Charter's* being drawn up according to these *Minutes*. The Queen was prevail'd upon to write to the King, requesting, the *Charter* might pass, as it had at first been prepared; or that the Affair might be suspended until his Majesty's Return into *England*. But the King, in a Letter which one of the Principal Secretaries of State shew'd to Mr. *Mather*, declared his Approbation of the *Minutes*, and that the *Charter* should be drawn up accordingly.

When

When he could no more hope for such a Settlement as would have been acceptable to the Generality of the Country, he endeavoured to prevent Things that might be of ill Consequence: accordingly he petitioned that no Property belonging to the Colony, or to any therein, should be taken away by the new Charter. That the Province of *Main* might be confirmed, and *Nova Scotia* added to the *Massachusetts*; both of which were obtained not without some Difficulty, and *Plimouth* was also annexed to the *Massachusetts*.

When the new Charter had been read before the Lords, he prayed that he might see it, because there might be Clauses in it, which their Lordships, upon Suggestion of Reasons for it, might think proper to alter; and some things added for the Advantage of the Province, which would not displease their Lordships. This was granted, with a Limitation of three Days for the Return of the Copy. Upon his Motion an Alteration was made in a Passage that referr'd to the taking of an Oath, and thereby the Troubles that would have attended many who scrupled the Rite of kissing the Book, were very happily prevented.

He also procured a Clause confirming all Grants made by the General Court, notwithstanding any Defect that might attend the Form of Conveyance; that so Mens Titles to their Lands might not be invalidated through a Defectiveness as to the Circumstantials of the enacting Part of the Law. Mr. *Mather* consulted with as many judicious and wise Men as he could, and with the best Friends *New-England* had; who all agreed that it was a Duty to accept the offer'd Charter. Among these, I ought to mention the Honourable Sir *Edward Harley*, whose Advice Mr. *Mather* did very much rely upon; and whose Memory ought to be esteemed by the Inhabitants of *New-England*. A Refusal would have brought

brought a direct Ruin on the Colony ; and the Blame would have been laid on them, who when they could not have all they wish'd for, would reject what they might have had.

But not to enter into the Question, which of the two Charters were best, the Case was *now*, whether this Settlement should be accepted ; or the Country lie expos'd to many Difficulties, which in the End might probably be the Destruction of the *Massachusetts* Colony, from which so many Portions would have been torn as to have left it in a deplorable State. What Mr. *Mather* did, *was not done* (to use Mr. *Matthew Mead's* Words in a Letter to his eldest Son) *without the Counsel and Advice of the best Friends New-England had ; Parliament-Men, Lawyers and Ministers.*

In short, it was a vain Thing to dispute the Matter any farther ; and there being some distinguishing Privileges granted to the Province, above what were allowed to any other Plantation, it demanded a thankful Acknowledgment to the Crown.

The Earl of Nottingham introduc'd Mr. *Mather* to kiss the King's Hand upon his Return to *England*. The King, at first seeing of Mr. *Mather*, smiled on him, and spake with much Condescension to him : and sometime after in *November*, my Lord *Nottingham* introduc'd him again to the King, my Lord *Devonshire* and my Lord *Portland* being present. He then said, " I do, on the Behalf of *New-England*, most
 " humbly thank your Majesty, that you have
 " been pleased by a Charter to restore *English* Liber-
 " ties unto them ; to confirm them in their Pro-
 " perties ; and to grant them some singular Privi-
 " leges. I doubt not but that your Subjects there
 " will demean themselves with such Loyalty to-
 " wards your Majesty, as that you will see Cause
 " to enlarge your royal Favour towards them.
 " I do most humbly thank your Majesty, in that
 " you

“ you have been pleased to give Leave unto those
 “ who are concerned for *New-England*, to nominate
 “ their Governor. Sir *William Phips* has been ac-
 “ cordingly nominated by us at the Council-Board;
 “ who has done good Service for the Crown by
 “ enlarging your Dominions, and reducing *Nova*
 “ *Scotia* to your Obedience.

“ I know that he will faithfully serve your Ma-
 “ jesty to the utmost of his Capacity; and if your
 “ Majesty shall think fit to confirm him in that
 “ Place, it will be a farther Obligation on your
 “ Subjects there.” The King replied, *I shall take*
that Colony under my Protection, and I shall do what
is in me for their Encouragement, and I shall take what
concerns the Government there into my Consideration.

The Charter having pass'd the Great Seal, and
 Sir *William Phips* having his Commission for Go-
 vernor; and, by Mr. *Mather's* Interest, the Honou-
 rable *William Stoughton*, Esq; being appointed De-
 puty-Governor, and all the Council for the first
 Year, a Return to *New-England* was what he had
 next in View.

In the Year 1689, the Affairs of *New-England*
 were brought into such an happy Posture, that Mr.
Mather design'd a Voyage back to his People there.
 Having a Letter from the King, dated *August 22,*
 1689, unto those who for the *Time being* had the
 Administration of the Government in their Hands;
 signifying his Approbation of their having re-as-
 sumed the Government, and directing them to go
 on until a *Settlement* should be made. The Bill for
 the restoring of Charters, particularly those for *New-*
England, having past the House of Commons, and
 there being no apparent Danger of its miscarrying,
 he was willing to return to his Charge at *Boston*.
 Having taken his Leave of his Friends at *London*,
August 20, he went to the *Downs*, where the Ship
 was, on board of which he had taken his Passage
 here.

here. The Ship lay Windbound until September 3, when his youngest Son that was with him was taken ill of the Small-Pox; being unwilling to leave him, the Ship sail'd without him. Some time after his Son was recovered, he returned to London, where he found such a Turn of Affairs, as gave Occasion to his Friends to say to him upon his coming back, *That God had stop'd the Voyage in great Mercy to his Country*: and so it prov'd, for had he not been present to sollicit the Affairs of the Province, their State would have been very indifferent. All things being finished as has been related, the Earl of Nottingham did introduce him to the King, January 3, 1691. After he had kissed the King's Hand, his Majesty said, *Are you going to New-England?* He answered, *with your Majesty's Leave I am so; if in any thing I may serve your Majesty's Interest there, I shall count myself happy that your Majesty will please to lay your Commands upon me.* The King replied, Sir, *I thank you, I wish you a good Voyage.* Mr. Mather then said, *There is one thing, of which I would humbly put your Majesty in Mind; We have in New-England a College, where many an excellent Protestant Divine has been educated.* The King said, *I know it.* He thereupon added, *If your Majesty will cast a favourable Aspect on that Society, it will yet flourish more than ever.* The King returned, *I shall willingly do it.*

Upon a Review of his appearing at Court, he did use these Words, *As Day and Night have seen it, so I can appeal to Heaven and Earth, that I have served the People of my Country with all Fidelity, and to the utmost of my Capacity.*





C H A P. VII.

Mr. Mather's Return to New-England.

§. 1.  T was in the Beginning of *March* that he took his Leave of his *London* Friends, and went to *Southampton*: and Sir *William Phips*, who was made Governor of the Province, took him in a Yacht to the *Ile of Wight*, where he stay'd a few Days; and sailing down the Channel, the Wind taking them short, they put in at *Dartmouth*, where he was some Days, and wrote a Preface to Mr. *Flavel's* Catechism, which was afterwards printed. After this they sailed to *Plimouth*, and on *March* 29, 1692, sailed from thence. The *Nonessuch* Man of War was the Convoy, appointed to *New-England*; on Board of which was Sir *William Phips*, and on Board a Merchant-Man Mr. *Mather* took his Passage. In the Voyage, the *Nonessuch* took a considerable Prize, by which they were inform'd that four *French* Men of War were bound to *France* from *Martinico*; and these were thought to be the Ships which the *Nonessuch* attempted to come up with, hoping they had been Merchant Ships. The Wind prevented their coming near to each other: and happy was it for Mr. *Mather* and his Friends that were with him, that it did so: Had it not, in all Probability they must have been carried Prisoners into *France*.

On *May* 14, following, he arrived, by God's Blessing, safe at *Boston*. Soon after, the great and general Assembly of the Province (which answers to the Parliament in *England*) convened. Unto them he repaired, and having read the Instructions he had
I received

received from the Government, he did upon each one of them demonstrate, to the Satisfaction of the Assembly, that he had, to the utmost of his Power, punctually observed them. The Speaker of the House of Representatives (or Commons) returned him Thanks for *his faithful and indefatigable Endeavours to serve the Country*; adding, that the expensive Way which they had been engag'd in, had so exhausted the Treasury, as to make them incapable of doing any thing proportionable to his Merits. Mr. *Mather* said, he was satisfied with the Hopes of a Reward in the future World.

I have just Reason to believe he would not have accepted any Acknowledgment from the Treasury, since the Province lay under the Burden of an heavy Debt, which had been contracted by an Expedition to *Canada*; for an Account of which the Reader is referr'd to the Life of Sir *William Phips*: And his Inclinations led him to despise Riches, as much as any Man's that ever I knew. He preached frequently for four Years in *London*, and never would enrich himself by any of the Gratuities which were offered to him. *The great and general Assembly* soon after appointed a Day of Thanksgiving to God through the Province, “for granting a safe Return
“to his Excellency our Governor, and the Reverend Mr. *Increase Mather*, who (as the Order
“expressed) have industriously endeavoured the
“Service of this People, and brought over with
“them a Settlement of Government; in which
“their Majesties have graciously given us distinguishing Marks of their Royal Favour and Goodness.

Under the former *Charter*, any Freeman was capable of being chose into the Magistracy, and consequently of being Governor of the Colony: But now the Crown of *England* reserves the Power of appointing the Governor and Lieutenant Governor; and thereby

thereby utterly destroy'd the Expectations of some silly Demagogues, that hop'd to see themselves at the Head of the Colony; who thereupon grew clamorous. But Mr. *Mather* was not moved at their shallow Talk. His worthy Friend, the Reverend Dr. *Bates*, who was a Person of excellent Prudence, and might foresee an Uneasiness in some Persons, on the Loss of their first Charter, did draw up a Letter, sign'd by twelve more of the eminentest Ministers in *London*, testifying Mr. *Mather's* faithful and indefatigable Endeavours for the Good of the Country. Dr. *Bates* did this, without its being proposed by Mr. *Mather*; and had it sign'd by ten Ministers, before Mr. *Mather* ever spake a Word to them about it: Nor could any two of them be prevailed with to suspect any thing they had subscribed, tho' some Essays were made towards such a disingenuous Design. Please to accept a Copy of the Letter.

To the much-honour'd General Court, assembled at
Boston, in *New England*.

Much honour'd Gentlemen,

“ THE restoring of your *Charter*, upon which
 “ the Security and publick Good of your Co-
 “ lony depends, we congratulate with as joyful Af-
 “ fections, as with tender Resentments we condoled
 “ the Deprivation of it. When your and our State
 “ was, in appearance, desolate, beyond humane Power
 “ and Counsel to redress, then Deliverance came from
 “ above; and in our deep Darkness, the Day-spring
 “ from on high visited us. We most humbly ad-
 “ mire and adore the glorious Author of that blef-
 “ sed Work; and we cannot but pay our grateful
 “ Respects, and dutiful Subjection, to his chosen
 “ Servant, our Sovereign, the happy Instrument of
 “ it. All the Colours of Language are not lively
 “ nor grateful enough, to express his Benefits to us.

“ He has the Honour of establishing our Religion at
 “ Home, and gives us Hopes of restoring it Abroad,
 “ in Places, out of which it has been unrighteously
 “ and cruelly expell’d.

“ Some among you may wonder there has been
 “ so long a Delay before your Charter was finish’d;
 “ but if you consider the Torrent of Affairs in
 “ Court, after the late Revolution, it will lessen
 “ the Wonder.

“ The Truth is, your Affairs were so difficult
 “ and thorny, that the rare Union of the Wisdom
 “ of the Serpent, and the Innocence of the Dove,
 “ were requisite in the Commissioners managing of
 “ it. A peremptory Refusal of any Charter, but
 “ of an uniform Tenor with the first, had been like
 “ too strong a Medicine, that exasperates the Disease,
 “ instead of curing it. In Affairs of great Import-
 “ ance, it’s Wisdom maturely to deliberate, and con-
 “ sider conditional Events; and by the Foresight of
 “ Inconveniences that will otherwise follow, to ac-
 “ cept of such things as are best, with respect to
 “ their Circumstances.

“ We therefore give this true Testimony of our
 “ much esteem’d and beloved Brother, Mr. *Increase*
 “ *Mather*; that with inviolate Integrity, excellent
 “ Prudence, and unfainting Diligence, he has manag’d
 “ the great Business of his Trust.

“ As he is instructed in the School of Heaven,
 “ to minister in the Affairs of the Soul; so he is
 “ furnish’d with a Talent to transact Affairs of
 “ State. His Proceedings have been with that Cau-
 “ tion, and Circumspection, as is correspondent to the
 “ Weight of his Commission; he, with Courage
 “ and Constancy, has pursued the noble Scope of
 “ his Employment; and understanding the true Mo-
 “ ment of Things, has preferr’d the publick Good
 “ to the vain Conceits of some, that more might
 “ have been obtain’d, if peremptorily insisted on.

“ Con-

“ Considering the open Opposition, and secret
 “ Arts, that have been used to frustrate the best En-
 “ deavours for the Interest of *New-England*, the
 “ happy Issue of these Things is superior to our
 “ Expectation. Your present Charter secures Li-
 “ berty and Property, the fairest Flowers of the Ci-
 “ vil State ; and, which is incomparably more valu-
 “ able, it secures the Enjoyment of the blessed Gos-
 “ pel in its Purity and Freedom : Altho’ there is a
 “ Restraint of your Power in some things that were
 “ granted in the former Charter, yet there are more
 “ ample Privileges in other things, that may be of
 “ perpetual Advantage to the Colony.

“ We doubt not but your faithful Agent will
 “ receive a gracious Reward above ; and we hope,
 “ his successful Service will be welcom’d with your
 “ entire Approbation, and grateful Acceptance. We
 “ now, with ardent Affection, recommend our dear
 “ Brother to the Divine Mercy ; that, through such
 “ dangerous Seas, he may safely arrive at his desir’d
 “ Place ; and we earnestly pray, that the Blessings
 “ of Heaven may be always upon your Colony ;
 “ that by the Light and Power of the Gospel, the
 “ Prince of Darkness may be expell’d from his an-
 “ cient Dominions, and the Kingdom of our Savi-
 “ our may be established, and enlarged, by the Ac-
 “ cession of the *American* Heathen to be his Inhe-
 “ ritage. Much honoured Gentlemen, we are

London, Oct. 7,

1691.

Your very humble and

faithful Servants.

This Letter was subscrib’d by *Dr. Bates, Mr. Matthew Mead, Mr. Matthew Barker, Mr. John How, Mr. V. Alsop, Mr. Richard Stretton, Mr. Thomas Woodcock, Mr. John James, Dr. Sam. Annesly, Mr. George Griffith, Mr. Richard Mayo, Mr. Isaac Chancey, and Mr. John Quick.*

Having,

Having, in the Course of the History, brought Mr. *Mather* back to *New-England*, it will not be foreign to the present Design to acquaint the Reader, that his four Years Absence in *England* was not spent only in pursuing the Welfare of the civil State of the Province, but he very frequently preach'd in *London*, and commonly once a Month for Dr. *Bates*, at *Hackney*, and there receiv'd the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper. The Doctor had such an Esteem for him, that he declared, that if Mr. *Mather* might be detained in *England*, he had rather have him join'd with him in the Pastoral Charge, than any Man in the World.

The Doctor, who was himself a most polite Scholar, could not but esteem Mr. *Mather*, who was well read in History, and in *Greek* and *Latin* Authors, and was a general Scholar.

He also cultivated a Friendship with that great Man, Mr. *Baxter*, whom I heard expressing himself extreamly well pleas'd with a Book which Mr. *Mather* had printed, and at that time presented to him. Mr. *Baxter*, in free Discourse with Mr. *Mather*, desir'd him, if he found Errors in any of his Writings, that he would confute them after he was dead ; and to set him an Example of opposing Opinions which were not approv'd of, he did publish a Book in Answer to Mr. *Mather*, about the calling of the *Jews*, to which he prefix'd a very respectful Dedication to Mr. *Mather*, then in *London*. Dr. *Bates* in his Funeral Sermon for Mr. *Baxter*, mentions a Visit that the Doctor and Mr. *Mather* made to him the Day before he died. His last Words to Mr. *Mather* were, *I bless God that you have accomplish'd your Business ; the Lord prolong your Life.*

Besides his frequent Preaching in *London*, he endeavour'd to promote a Coalescence of the two Parties, that go under the Names of *Presbyterians*, and *Congregational* ; nor was it in vain. Dr. *Annesley*, and Mr. *Nathanael Vincent*, and others, have often declar'd

clar'd, that this Union had never been effected, if Mr. *Mather* had not been at *London*. At a General Assembly of the Ministers in *Devonshire*, 1691, it was agreed, " That the Moderator, Mr. *John Flavel*,
 " should send unto the Reverend Mr. *Matthew Mead*,
 " Mr. *John How*, and Mr. *Increase Mather*; and give
 " them, and such others as have been eminently in-
 " strumental in promoting the Union, the Thanks
 " of the Assembly.

§. 2. One of the first things that occur'd in the Year 1692, was the Trouble which he found the Country in about Witchcrafts, and diabolical Possessions. So many things were done and suffered by the Agency of invisible Beings, as to leave no Room to doubt the Existence of Spirits. There having been large Accounts printed of these Matters, I shall no farther touch on them, than to shew how happy it was for many that Mr. *Mather* was returned to *New-England*. Some Persons under Torment affirmed, that such and such appear'd to them, and handled them in an unmerciful Manner. Upon this Evidence, several, who were of no extraordinary Character, were apprehended. It presently became a Question, whether the Devil could represent an innocent Person as tormenting another?

Hereupon Mr. *Mather* wrote a very learned Book, entitled, *Cases of Conscience concerning Witchcraft*: in which he demonstrates that the Devil may appear in the Shape of an innocent and vertuous Person, to afflict those who were under particular Molestations. Upon this, *spectral Evidence*, for so it was called, grew out of Reputation; and the Governor pardoned such as had been condemned; and there was now as great a Clamour raised in Defence of the Accused, as there had been before against them. Some, who had with great Vehemence maintain'd, that the Devil could not afflict in the Shape of a good Man, were confuted by having their own
 Shapes

Shapes thus abused. On this Occasion some foolish Lies were raised, whether thro' Ignorance or Malice I do not enquire *. They have done no hurt, except to them who invented or unwarily spread the Fictions.

There was some Years since a Book published, which the Author calls, *An Historical Essay concerning Witchcraft*; where he represents Things weakly and rashly, and not fairly: but I do not find that his mean Performance has been any Disadvantage to either Mr. Baxter's or Mr. Mather's Reputation.

Some time after the spectral Troubles were over, there was published a malicious Libel by a contemptible Person, entitled, *More Wonders of the invisible World*. The Design was to vilify Mr. Mather, the Elder and the Younger; and to rail against Sir William Phips, and against the Settlement which King William and Queen Mary appointed for the Province.

The Book itself is full of gross, sordid, and notorious Lies, and has been made evident to the World by an Answer printed in *New-England*, which was drawn up and published by Mr. Obadiah Gill, Mr. John Barnard, Mr. John Goodwin, Mr. William Robie, Mr. Timothy Wadsworth, Mr. Robert Cumbey, and Mr. George Robinson: They were Communicants with Mr. Mather. They have so fully proved the vile Writer to be guilty of Lying, that I never could learn, he had the Impudence to publish any Reply to clear himself. How unaccountable is it, that a Man who pretends to give an Abstract of the History of *New-England*, should bring a Book, written by one of no Reputation in any Kind, and which has been evidently demonstrated to be stufft with Lies, for one of his Vouchers!

* There has been printed a Report, that one related to Dr. Mather was among the Accused; but it was false, and without any Foundation.

If it be said in his Defence, that the Abridger has not seen the Answer which I refer to, it had been well if he had seen this Answer that might have prevented Mistakes.

It was on the Occasion of the Slanders published in that foolish Book, that Mr. *Mather*, at the Request of the abovementioned Persons who undertook his Vindication, in Reply to a Complaint that he had spent a great deal of Money during his Agency for *New-England*, did write to them as follows.

“ These little Men know not what it is to attend
 “ in the Courts of Kings for four Years together ;
 “ if they did, they would not make that Objecti-
 “ on. And sure I am, that when, at the Desire of
 “ many principal Persons in the Country, I did
 “ undertake a Voyage for *England* in *April* 1688,
 “ the People in this Province would gladly have
 “ given ten Times more than what I expended in
 “ their Service, on Condition they might have re-
 “ stored and confirmed to them what they now en-
 “ joy ; yea, if it had been but in one Article of
 “ it. But besides this, I may affirm, that, in effect,
 “ I serv’d the Country on *Free Cost*. For I never
 “ demanded the least Farthing, as a Recompence
 “ for the Time I spent in attending on their Af-
 “ fairs ; but instead thereof, I procured in Donati-
 “ ons for the Publick (besides the Privileges of the
 “ *Charter* itself, which tho’ not so great as I would
 “ have had, and as I would gladly have parted
 “ with all I have in this World for to have pur-
 “ chas’d, are greater than any other Plantation be-
 “ sides *New-England* enjoys : I say, besides these
 “ things, I procured in *Donations* to the Province
 “ and College) *at least nine hundred Pounds, more than*
 “ *all the Expences of my Agency came to.* This be-
 “ ing plain Matter of Fact, which the whole Ge-
 “ neral Assembly once had before them, I suppose

“ all reasonable Men will own, that Reproaches cast
 “ on me, for my Expensiveness in the publick Ser-
 “ vice, are most ungrateful and unworthy.

Ingratitude being the Growth of every Climate, I shall, at present, take no farther Notice of this Matter, but proceed in the History.

§. 3. Being return'd to his more pleasing Employment, the Care of his Church, and of the College, he endeavour'd, with Diligence, Fidelity, and Prudence, to acquit himself. He, living at *Boston*, did every Week visit the College. He manag'd the Commencements so as always to be admitted. He shew'd great Learning and Knowledge in natural Philosophy, as exhibited by the Ancients and Moderns. It was necessary that a Person, in his Station, should be acquainted with what hath been written in past Ages, and what hath been discover'd by the modern *Virtuosi*.

He highly valued my Lord *Verulam's* Writings, and *Gassendus's* Works; but above all others, he most esteem'd the Philosophical Works of the honourable *Robert Boyle, Esq;* He often waited on that Gentleman, when in *England*, and was received by him with great Respect. It was *A.D. 1681.* that the Care of the College fell upon him. His Orations, which he pronounc'd at the Commencements, were always applauded as being of pure *Latin*, the Propriety of which learned Language was fully understood by him.

His Church refusing to relinquish the Right they had in him, he declin'd, for awhile, to act as President, and promoted the Choice of another Person; upon whose Death, in the Year 1684, the Overseers and Fellows of the College apply'd to him, praying him to act as *Præses pro Tempore*. He acted in this Station when the Charter of the Colony was vacated: a new *pro Tempore* Government being appointed, the chief Person was call'd *President*, who thereupon gave the Title of *Rector* to him who govern'd the Col-

College. But on the Settlement at Sir *William Phips's* Accession to the Government, the former Title *President* was used: here Mr. *Mather* was diligent in the Discharge of the Trust, preventing Disorders, encouraging of Piety, Industry, and Learning. When he was in *England*, he endeavour'd to promote the Welfare of the College, and procured some very valuable Donations to it. Here he became acquainted with Mr. *Thomas Hollis*, who has been the greatest Benefactor the College ever had: That Gentleman being still living, it would look too much like Flattery, to say what might be spoken by every one educated at *Harvard College*, in Praise of a Person who has laid them under the greatest Obligations. May God reward him.

Mr. *Mather*, as soon as it could be done, obtain'd an Act of the *General Assembly* (which is, in that Province, as the Parliament is in *Great-Britain*) for incorporating the College; and it was done, on a larger Foundation than the former Settlement. By this Act the College was enabled, among other things, to confer Degrees, (which the preceding Charter could not pretend to, beyond that of *Batchelor and Master of Arts*) such as that of *Batchelor and Doctor in Divinity*. The Act being pass'd (which by their Charter the *General Assembly* had Authority to pass), the University did offer a *Diploma*, under their Seal, for a *Doctorate* to their President, with the Hands of the Fellows annexed. It is as follows:

“ Quum Gradus Academicos, tam in *Theologiâ*
 “ quàm in *Philosophiâ*, pro more *Academiarum* in
 “ *Angliâ*, conferendi potestas ab amplissimo Guber-
 “ natore & à summâ *Massachusettsensis Curiâ*, secun-
 “ dum serenissimi Regis ac Reginae *Gulielmi & Ma-*
 “ *riae* illis concessum *Diploma*, sit nobis commissa;
 “ & quoniam vir Clarissimus D. *Crescentius Ma-*
 “ *therus*, Collegii *Harvardini* in *Novâ Angliâ* præ-

“ ses Reverendus, Libros quàm plurimos, tam An-
 “ licè quàm Latinè edidit, omnigenâ Literaturâ refer-
 “ tos, multisq; prætereà modis non solum in Linguis,
 “ & in Artibus Liberalibus peritissimum, verùm eti-
 “ am in S. S. Scripturis & in Theologiâ se ostendit
 “ versatissimum, atque per studia & merita verè ex-
 “ traordinaria, non tantum apud *Americanas*, sed &
 “ *Europæanas* Ecclesias, commendatissimum se reddi-
 “ dit ; proptereà dictum D. *Crescentium Matherum*,
 “ Doctorali Cathedrâ dignum judicamus ; eumq;
 “ pro Autoritate nobis commissâ, S.S. *Theologiæ*
 “ *Doctorem* nominamus ac renunciamus. In cujus
 “ Rei Testimonium, Academiæ Sigillum hisce Lite-
 “ ris affiximus, nos quorum hic sunt subscripta
 “ Nomina. Datum *Cantabrigiæ Nov. Anglorum*,
 “ Die Novembris septimo, Annoq; Domini mil-
 “ lesimo sexcentesimo nonagesimoq; secundo.

Acting as President, he required a strict Confor-
 mity to the Statutes of the College, and acted in a
 due Discipline. He gave Advice to young Students
 what Books to read, on several Subjects that were
 proper to compleat their Studies.

He kept up Disputations among the *Batchelors of*
Art, in which he moderated in the *College-Hall*. He
 commonly assign'd them such Questions, as related
 to the Truths which were of principal Importance.
 He usually preach'd once a Week to the Scholars,
 on such Subjects as he thought most useful for them.
 Sometimes he entertain'd them in the *College-Hall*,
 with elaborate Expositions.

Being sensible that Piety was as necessary for the
 learned, as for the unlearned, he would privately dis-
 course with them singly about the State of their
 Souls, and the Necessity of Conversion : an uncon-
 verted Minister makes but a wretched Figure in the
 Pulpit. Some have receiv'd such serious Impressi-
 ons from his Discourses, as will give them Occa-
 sion

sion to bless God for, and retain a thankful Remembrance of them.

His thus applying himself to particular Persons, and treating with them about their spiritual State, has been very successful: and I have heard some in *London* speak with great Gratitude of his wise Admonitions, by which they receiv'd the first serious Impressions of Religion.

He resign'd his Charge of the College in 1701, because the *General Assembly* required the President to reside at *Cambridge*. He did not see fit to part from a People at *Boston*, who had manifested such singular Esteem for him, as few Churches have shewn to their Ministers. Hereupon he quitted the Post, and spent the remainder of his Life among a People, that had discovered a great Respect for him, in choosing his eldest Son to be the Pastor of the Church; and afterwards, in sending an Invitation to his youngest Son, who has, for some Years, liv'd in *England*, to return, in order to supply his Father's Place. When he took Leave of the Office, which was much to the Dissatisfaction of the Country, he gave the Scholars a Farewel Discourse on *Coloss. iii. 11. Christ is all*. And in the Conclusion, address'd himself in these Terms to them who heard him.

“ Unto you that are Students in the College, and
 “ especially unto such of you, as are (what most of
 “ you are) design'd for the Work of the *Ministry*,
 “ the Advice which I now leave is this.

“ *First*, Let the glorifying of the *Lord Jesus*
 “ *Christ*, and not any worldly Considerations, in-
 “ duce you to devote yourselves unto the Evange-
 “ lical Ministry, which you have before you. 'Tis
 “ true, 'tis an honourable Calling which you are
 “ entering upon.

“ To be *Ambassadors of Christ*, who is the King
 “ of Kings, is to be in an honourable Station. The
 “ greatest

“ greatest Persons on Earth have not thought it beneath them, to preach the Word of the God of Heaven.

“ The King in *Jerusalem*, and as great a King as they ever had, is call'd *the Preacher*. Some Ecclesiastical Writers affirm *Titus* to have been one of noble Extraction among the *Cretians*; and since the Reformation, what was *George* the Prince of *Anhalt*? What was the learned *Chandieu*, who goes under the *Hebrew* Name of *Sadeel*? What was *John Alasco*? Greatly enrich'd is that Man, whose Business it is to preach the unsearchable Riches of Christ: but you must not propose the Honours of this World in what you undertake: No, but expect rather to be despised, and rejected of Men, and to have all manner of Indignities heap'd upon you. As little may you propose the Riches of this World; the low and mean Intention of getting a Living, must not be the chief thing in your Eye. You may, no doubt, get much more Wealth, by betaking yourselves to some other Employments. Poverty, narrow and humbling Circumstances, and grievous Defraudations from an unthankful People, are what you must look for; you must count it Honour enough, and Riches enough, if Christ may have Service from you; there are special Advantages to serve Christ, which Ministers have above other Men; here let there be the Honours, and the Riches, that your Hearts will be mainly set upon.

“ Secondly, Let your Sermons be as full of Christ as may be. Sermons full of *self*, and made for the Ostentation of your own Learning; are these Sacrifices that God will be well pleased with? The Sermons of the Apostles were not such; no, they could say, *We preach not ourselves, but Christ Jesus the Lord*. What were the *Pauline* Sermons? We read, he preach'd those things which concern'd

the

“ *the Lord Jesus Christ.* Alas! there are *Preachers* in
 “ the World, that have little of *Christ* in their Ser-
 “ mons. A Morality without the Gospel of Christ,
 “ is all that is to be found in their Sermons: No-
 “ thing higher than is to be met with in a *Cice-*
 “ *ro*, a *Seneca*, an *Epietetus*, a *Plutarch*, is to be
 “ found in their Sermons. *Nomen Christi non est*
 “ *ibi.* Nay, they count it a Disparagement to
 “ their *Sermons*, to have the Name of *Christ* often
 “ mention’d in them. How unlike are such unto
 “ that Servant of the Lord, who has the Name of
 “ *Christ*, no less than *ten times* in the ten first Verses
 “ of his first Epistle to the *Corinthians*! CHRIST!
 “ how copious the Subject! how sublime! There
 “ is Matter enough in it for your Meditation, all
 “ the Days of your Lives. Do not neglect, by
 “ any means, to preach on the *Glories*, the *Person*,
 “ the *Offices*, and the *Benefits* of CHRIST, and the
 “ Interest which he has in every Article of our
 “ Holy Religion. Know the Truth, as it is in *Je-*
 “ *sus.* Wherefore,

“ *Thirdly*, Have an Eye still on *Christ*, even when
 “ you are preaching on other Subjects. We may
 “ not think, that if a Man preaches on Subjects
 “ wherein Christ is not immediately referr’d unto,
 “ *Christ* and the Gospel is not preached in them:
 “ but this I will say unto you, *Other Subjects* are
 “ to be preach’d upon; and yet still, in all a *Christ*
 “ is to be repair’d unto.

“ The *Evil of Sin* is to be preach’d upon; the
 “ Misery of Man, fallen by Sin, is to be preach’d
 “ upon; but it must be to lead the Hearers to
 “ Christ, who is the mighty and only Saviour of
 “ Sinners. The *Moral Law* is to be preach’d upon,
 “ as the Rule of our Obedience to God. The
 “ Duties of *Piety*, and *Equity*, and *Charity*, are to
 “ be preach’d on; but the Example of *Christ*, ob-
 “ serving the Law, and Manuduction to him for our
 “ Assistance

“ Assistance and Acceptance in all we do, is always
 “ to accompany it. Remember the Life of your
 “ preaching, will be according to what there is of
 “ *Christ*, who is the Life shining in it.

“ If you do thus glorify *Christ*, God, even the
 “ eternal Father, will take it kindly from you; for
 “ there is nothing so dear to him as that Son of his
 “ Love. His *Christ* is dearer to him, than all the
 “ Angels in Heaven; dearer to him than all the
 “ Worlds which are the Works of his Hands.
 “ 'Tis for him that he hath made them all; he de-
 “ lights exceedingly to see his *Christ* glorified; and
 “ if this be what your Hearts are set upon, he will
 “ reward you wonderfully. You will have this
 “ glorious Reward among the rest, that you will
 “ have his holy Spirit powerfully breathing in your
 “ Ministry. An eminent *Scotch* Divine, hearing
 “ a young Minister preach an *elaborate Sermon*,
 “ commended the Sermon, yet complained, *I want-*
 “ *ed one thing, I wanted the Spirit of God; that was*
 “ *not so sensible and apparent in it.* You will take
 “ an excellent Way to escape this Complaint upon
 “ your Services. *The Spirit of Truth will glorify me,*
 “ *saith our Saviour.* That holy Spirit will sadly
 “ withdraw from the Ministry, that has not *Christ*
 “ animating of it. No Doubt, this may be the ve-
 “ ry Cause, why an *unsuccessful Ministry* is become
 “ the Matter of Observation and of Lamentation.

“ And now, my Children, what shall I say more
 “ unto you? I hope that as to many of you (Oh!
 “ that it might be all of you) I shall meet you with
 “ Joy at the right Hand of *Christ* in the great Day
 “ of his appearing and his Kingdom, when both
 “ you and I shall rejoice that ever he brought and
 “ placed me among you. But if any of you, who
 “ are Students in the College, prove so miserable as
 “ to die in your Sins, and in a *Christless* Condi-
 “ tion, I earnestly protest unto you *this Day*, that I
 “ shall

“ shall testify against you before the Lord Jesus
 “ Christ in *that Day*, that I have called upon you,
 “ both publickly and privately, to make sure of an
 “ Interest in him. I am now pure from the Blood
 “ of your Souls: If any of you (*which Mercy*
 “ *prevent!*) shall die in your Sins, your Blood will
 “ be upon your unhappy Heads. I have done the
 “ Part of a faithful Father to you.

It were to be wish'd, that what Mr. *Isaac Watts*
 has written in a Preface to Mr. *Fennings's two Dis-*
courses, &c. was duly observed. “ Let us Mini-
 “ sters consider how little has been our Success, in
 “ Comparison of the Multitudes converted by our
 “ Fathers in the Day of their Ministry. Now, 'tis
 “ worth our Enquiry, whether it may not be af-
 “ cribed to the Absence of CHRIST in our Sermons.
 “ And what Reason, indeed, can we have, to ex-
 “ pect the Presence and Influence of the *Spirit of*
 “ *Christ*, if we leave his Person, his Offices, his
 “ Grace, and his Gospel, out of our Discourses,
 “ and give but a slight and casual Hint at these glo-
 “ rious Subjects, which ought to be our daily
 “ Theme?

Those Discourses of Mr. *Fennings* concerning
preaching Christ, &c. if I may be allowed to give
 my Opinion, deserve to be perused by all who are
 Candidates for the Ministry. Dr. *Mather* has, in a
 Preface to a Book which he published a few Years
 before he died, Words to this Effect: “ I often think
 “ (and I wish young Preachers would think of it)
 “ of the Advice of the famous Dr. *Sibbes* to young
 “ *Tho. Goodwin* (who afterwards proved a no less fa-
 “ mous Doctor than the other,) *Young Man*, said he,
 “ *if ever you wou'd do good, you must preach Christ and*
 “ *Free Grace.*” Upon his quitting his Oversight of the
 College, he made a Remark: *I have* (they are his
 Words) *received more Discouragement in the Work*
of God, from those whom I have laid under the
 L greatest

greatest Obligations, than from all the World besides. Let not my Children put too much Confidence in Men; it may be, such as they have laid under the greatest Obligations of Gratitude, will prove the most unkind to them. I have often had Experience of it. Thus he writes.

I wish his Sons, who survive him, were the only Ministers who have Occasion to make such a Remark. I suppose, both of them have had the greatest Civilities shewn to them, by Persons from whom they did not expect any thing of that Nature; and the most monstrous Ingratitude from them, whom they have laid under the greatest Obligations; which, since it lay not in their Power even to return in Civilities, the Ingrates have requited with a superlative Rudeness: so dangerous a thing is it to oblige Mankind too much.

§. 4. He still pursued his Studies. In the Morning, he deliberately read a Chapter of the Bible and prayed, and then applied himself to either writing or reading. At *Nine*, he came down to his Family, read a Chapter, and prayed with them, and then returned to his Study until Dinner-time; after which he soon applied himself to Study, having first prayed, and thus spent the Afternoon. In the Evening he prayed, and proceeded in his Study until nine at Night, when he came down to Family Prayer; after which he proceeded in his Studies, oftentimes until Midnight, or later, and concluded with Prayer.

He commonly spent sixteen Hours of the twenty four in his Study; and did so rarely make Visits, that he has sometimes been complain'd of.

He conscientiously devoted a *Tenth Part* of his Income to pious Uses. This was the least, and often did more than so. That he might be exact, and not give less, he kept an Account of the Profits of the Year, and never fail'd of giving the tenth Part thereof: And it has been found, that in some Years he has laid out *twenty four Pounds* above the tenth

Part

Part of the whole Year's Income. And when he preached to Churches, whose Pastors were dead, the Gratuities which were offered to him, he directed to be given to Widows and Orphans. He also often remitted what belong'd to him as *President*; none of this was reckoned into the Tenths, which he had consecrated to good Uses.

Notwithstanding he led such a recluse Life, he was Company fit for Gentlemen: And tho' his Conversation was sometimes with Persons of the first Quality, he was never charg'd with an Indecency. He was far from engrossing all the Discourse to himself. His Words were few and unaffected. His Study was the Place he most delighted in. I have heard him say, that he should not desire to go abroad all the Week; provided he might have Liberty to go out and preach on the Lord's-day.

His Sermons were all well studied; and Persons who were every way qualified to be Judges of the Matter, have said, that *He never preach'd a Sermon, but what was worthy of the Press.*

A very accomplish'd Person dedicating to him a learned Disputation, *De Christi descensu ad Inferos*, printed in *Holland* 1702, addresses him, as *Theologorum & Philosophorum omnium per totam, quæ latè patet, Nov. Angliam, facile princeps.*

He despised what they call *Quaintness* of Style: never had any Jingles of Words, nor any fanciful impertinent Turns of Thought; much less any of those tall Metaphors, that set the Rabble a gaping, and raise Pity in the judicious Part of the Auditory: but he addicted himself to a plain and concise Style: He was very careful to be understood.

It was his constant Endeavour to preach scripturally, and to support what he advanced by pertinent Texts. He was a great Admirer of Mr. *Hildersham's* preaching, who was celebrated for his excellent Talent in that kind. His Language was adapted to his

Auditory, without intermixing any Passages that were not suitable to the Dignity of the Oracles of God.

I am not unaware of what is the modern Way of sermonizing ; and that to preach scripturally, is to preach, in the Esteem of many, very unfashionably. I would recommend a Paragraph in Mr. Charnock, (Vol. 2. p. 236.) *Savonarola* observes, “ That when he neglected preaching of the Scripture, and applied himself to Discourses of Philosophy, he gained little upon the Hearts of the People : But when he came to illustrate and explain the Scripture, the Minds of People were wonderfully enflamed, and excited to a serious Frame : And that when he discoursed in a philosophical Manner, there was a Non-Attention, not only of the more Ignorant, but of the more Learned too. But when he preached Scripture Truths, he found the Minds of Men mightily delighted, stung with divine Truths, brought to Compunction, and a Reformation of their Lives ; which shews, saith he, the Power of the Word, acting more vigorously than all humane Reason in the World. And indeed Scripture, and Scripture Reason, is the Wisdom of God ; all other Reason is the Wisdom of Man. God will depress Man’s Wisdom, and advance his own : it works as it is *the Word of God, which lives and abides for ever*. To wrap a fine Piece of Silk about a Sword, or guild a Diamond, is to hinder the Edge of the one, and the Lustre of the other.

It is certain, that a Regard is to be had unto the Language which a Man uses in the Pulpit. He ought to avoid Flashes of Wit, which border on Buffoonery, as well as a Stile that is either groveling and awkward, or such as can please none but the silliest Part of the Auditory. Dr. Mather was never known to advance what at first appeared a Paradox, which, when examined

mined, hath nothing considerable in it. One Passage in a Sermon, (on *Acts* xiii. 2.) preached at the Ordination of his eldest Son, will explain the Article I am upon.

“ Since the Spirit of God is concerned so much
 “ in the Separation of Persons to the Work of the
 “ Ministry, how much does it concern them to be
 “ very spiritual in their Ministry ! Let it be their
 “ Care to live spiritually, and be spiritually-minded
 “ Men, and not grieve the holy Spirit of God by
 “ any Irregularities : But let them also preach spiri-
 “ tually, and therefore preach scripturally. The
 “ Word of God is the Sword of the Spirit ; and
 “ they must have, and quote, much of that in their
 “ Sermons, if they would have the Spirit of God
 “ breathing in them.

His Pronunciation of his Sermons was remote from any ill Accent. He was grave and deliberate, and as some Subjects required, his Voice would rise at emphatical Clauses, as the Discourse proceeded ; and come on with such Life, Vigour, and Seriousness, as would strike a very sensible Awe upon the Hearers. What was observed of the great *Farellus* might be applied to him, *Nemo tonuit fortius*.

He used no Notes in his preaching. He wrote his Sermons in Quarto Books, and then he committed them to his Memory. He would write an *Octavo* Page or two of Texts and Hints, which he carried in the Beginning of his Bible, to help him if he should at any Time be at a Loss ; yet he never look'd upon it, except once in his old Age ; which he took to be a *Symptom of Decay*, which was a Forerunner of Death. He approved the Use of Notes in preaching ; yet he distinguished it from Reading of a Discourse, which often flattens the Vigour and Life of a Sermon.

He not only made Conscience of studying what he delivered in the Pulpit, but daily prayed for di-
 vine

vine Assistance in his Meditations, and a Benediction on his Sermons. One Article of Petition in his *Days of Prayer* was, *Direction what Subjects to preach upon.* The last Thing which he did, before his going forth to preach a Sermon, was, to offer a *secret Prayer* for God's gracious Presence with him; and when he came home, the first Thing he did, was, in Secret to give Thanks for the Assistance which God had granted, and to beg a Blessing on what had been preached.

As to Direction what Subjects to discourse on, I shall give you an Instance. He once felt a strong Impression upon his Mind, to preach a Sermon about *Self Murder*, but he declin'd it. Some time after the same Thoughts returned again, he implored divine Guidance; and not knowing but that something more might be in it, than what he was aware of, he resolved to preach on that Subject, which he did from *Acts* xvi. 27, 28. Soon after a Person came to him, owning that God had blessed this Sermon to prevent Self Murder; to commit which, violent Temptations had been offered. Such Directions, I suppose, most Ministers, who are serious in their Work, do occasionally receive.

§. 5. Old Age came on him; but until he was past *Eighty*, his Intellectuals did not appear enfeebled. On the Day he had attain'd to the Age of *Four-score*, he preach'd on those Words in *Ezek.* xvi. 5. *The Day when thou wast born*; which they who wrote after him have printed, and it has been received with great Esteem. He had outliv'd many worthy Persons of his Acquaintance, some of whose Lives are recorded in the Church-History of *New-England*; others have died since that Book was printed. I hope it will not be unacceptable, if I mention the Reverend Mr. *Samuel Willard*, who was, for many Years, Minister of the *South Church* in *Boston*. He was an admirable Man in the Pulpit. His Stile was
masculine

masculine and florid. I suppose the Person, who made a Motion to send modern Authors to *New-England*, to heighten their Stile, because it equals not the Diction of the *Europeans*, had never read Mr. *Willard's* Books; if he had, I can hardly think he would have made such a Proposal. Besides, there is as great a Dissimilitude in the Stile of *New-England* Writers, (such, I mean, who have had their Education in *Harvard* College) as in the Writers among Men of various Denominations in *England*. Look into the Writings of Mr. *Mather* of *Dublin*, into what has been published of Mr. *Nathanael Mather's*, and into the several Treatises published by Dr. *Increase Mather*, you'll see their Stile is different. It is hardly reasonable to make a Judgment of the Stile of an whole Province, by some few Passages that are in a particular Writer.

But to return to Mr. *Willard*; he was the Author of several valuable Treatises, which were printed in *New-England*, and are mention'd in his Funeral Sermon: besides, he has written a short Exposition of the *Assemblies Catechism*, which has never been printed; and at his *Monthly Catechising Lectures*, he did, in most learned and elaborate Discourses, explain a great Part of the *Catechism*.

He was an admirable *Logician*, and knew how to state and manage a Controversie, beyond most Men that ever I knew. He was a compleat Master of the *Quinquarticular* Controversie. Dr. *Mather* shew'd his Esteem for him, by writing a Preface to a most judicious and learned Book of Mr. *Willard's*, concerning the *Covenant of Redemption*. Had he liv'd to have finish'd and publish'd his Lectures on the *Catechism*, (an hundred and sixty of which I have in Manuscript) the World would have seen as exact and as judicious a Body of Divinity, as has been publish'd, either in this, or the last Century. I do pay a small Acknowledgment to Mr. *Willard*, in what I
now

now write. It ought not to offend any, that I take this Occasion to express my Gratitude, for Civilities receiv'd from so considerable a Divine. I am not willing to forget any Favour that I have receiv'd from worthy Persons, however unwilling I am to remember the Injuries that have been offer'd by some, who do not trouble their Heads with thinking.

Dr. *Mather* had an extraordinary Value for Mr. *John Cotton*, the celebrated Author of the *Power of the Keys*, &c. They both underwent the same sort of Persecution in *one Article*; that is to say, they were both pelted with Libels, by scoundrel Scriblers. What Dr. *Mather* suffer'd, has already been consider'd; it was whilst he was living. What his Father in Law Mr. *Cotton* underwent, and which I now have mine Eye upon, was after his Death. The Book I refer to, is entituled *Gulielmi Nicholſii* Presbyteri defensio Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ, &c.

In his *Apparatus*, writing about the Settlement of *New-England*, he has these Words: *His primarius Pastor erat Cottonus, qui Neoplenudæ circa Annum MDCXXX, juxta Independentium normam, Ecclesiam ordinavit, alias mox constitutus. In quâ re plurimum opis tulit ab Hutchinsonâ quadam inspiratâ (ut ipsi volunt) Faminâ, quæ, ut Maximilla Montani, individua Cottoni Comes & Adjutrix fuit.*

It will be difficult to produce so short a Paragraph in any History, crowded with more gross Misrepresentations. It's a Lye, to say he set up his Church at *New Plimouth*; for I have good reason to believe he never was there: the Church he gather'd, was at *Boston*, not *Plimouth*. I never met with any Author, or Report, that gives the least Shadow of Occasion to suppose the Fact to be as this Writer represents it.

It's a gross Fiction, to say he had Assistance from *Hutchinsonâ quadam*. It's a ridiculous Falshood to pretend, that any look'd on that Person to be inspir'd.

It's

It's both base and false to say, she was *Cottoni comes & adjutrix*. The authentick History of *New-England* has set this Matter in such a Light, as to leave a Brand of Infamy upon the Names of them, who have abused so learned and venerable a Person as Mr. *John Cotton*. This Author, to whom I now refer, was much in the wrong, if he thought that the Luscioufness of his Stile could atone for the Falseness of his History.

Among foreign Divines, with whom Dr. *Mather* held a Correspondence, was the learned Dr. *Leusden*, Professor of the *Hebrew* Tongue at *Utrecht*. He made a Present to Dr. *Mather* of several of his own, as well as of the Books of other learned Men, printed in those Parts, as a Return for some *Indian* Books; particularly, the Bible in that Language, printed in *New-England*. *Senguerdius*, in his Natural Philosophy, has things that he received from Dr. *Mather*. There was a Society of Gentlemen and Divines in *New-England*, for the carrying on of the same Design with the Royal Society, promoted by Dr. *Mather*: They had made some Progress in collecting Materials, which might have furnished a Volume, not inferior to some of the *German Ephemerides*, had not the Iniquity of the Times occasion'd its being laid aside. The honourable *Wait Winthrop*, Esq; was one of the Gentlemen of that Society: He was a great Philosopher, and excell'd in Chymistry. He dispensed Medicines to the Poor *gratis*, with great Success. He was of one of the best Families in *New-England*.

To return to Dr. *Mather*.





C H A P. VIII.

His last Days, and Death.

§. 1.  eing sensible that he approach'd toward the Eternal World, the Meditations of it employ'd his Thoughts; as Endeavours to prepare for it did, in a peculiar Manner, take up his Time. He preach'd several Sermons about the *Glory of Heaven*, which were printed. In the Preface, he makes Acknowledgment of the Affection of his Congregation to him, in having often (as has been signified) pray'd for his Life. " I am (to use his own Words) very sensible
 " of your Love, and bless God for it: he has made
 " my Age to be a good old Age, &c. Neverthe-
 " less, for the future, let me intreat you to pray
 " not for my longer abiding here; but that whilst I
 " am in the World, I may be serviceable; and that
 " I might be made meet for the Inheritance of the
 " Saints in Light; and that the Lord would graci-
 " ously hasten my being *among the Spirits of just*
 " *Men made perfect.*

On *September 25, 1722*, he did with an excellent pathetick Prayer, in a vast Auditory, conclude a Fast Day, kept by his Church to obtain Success to the preaching of the Gospel, and for the Growth of vital Piety. Within two Days after this, he fell into an *Apoplectic Deliquium*, out of which he soon recovered; but it left him so weak, that he never went abroad more.

It has been before remarked, that he was not unwilling to go through Sufferings, by divine Assistance; and I am now to observe, he had a very great Share of them which fell to his Portion. Not to
 give

give a Journal of his last Indisposition, it may suffice the Reader's Curiosity, if I add, that a violent *Hickcough* seiz'd him, which would hold him a Week, and sometimes a Fortnight, without Intermission; and then, after a little time, would return with its former Violence. It produc'd a Corrosion of his *Diaphragm*, and at length did affect his Head: and under the Weight of old Age, and sinking Weakness, he had not that Liveliness nor Coherence of Thought, which he before enjoy'd. Without question, the grand Adversary did all that he could, to make the last Days of this holy Man cloudy.

Under his Indispositions, he express'd a very great Solicitude that he might not dishonour God, nor forsake his Dependance on Christ, nor renounce the *Choice* which he had made seventy Years before; the Thought of which was an unspeakable Consolation to him.

But, notwithstanding the Struggles he had with these complicated Distempers, he would often say, *The infinite Mercy in God, and the infinite Merit in Christ, keep me above all Discouragement.* He frequently thought on those Words of our Saviour, *Where I am, there shall my Servant be*; to which he would add, *CHRIST is in Heaven; and if I am a Servant of his (which I am sure I am), then shall I be there.* He made greater Complaints, on the account of his being laid aside as to publick Usefulness, than he did about any of his complicated Maladies. He would have the *Seventy first Psalm* often read to him, and still express'd a great Delight in Prayer, seldom letting his eldest Son go out of his Presence without praying by him. Being ask'd, what he desir'd to have mention'd in the Prayers offer'd to God on his behalf? he reply'd, *That I may do Good whilst I live, and that I may honour Christ in my Death.* Being inform'd that Mr. *Thomas Hollis* had, in a Letter written to his eldest Son, enquir'd *whether he were in the*

Land of the Living? he replied, *No, tell him I am going to it; this poor World is the Land of the Dying; 'tis Heaven that is the Land of the Living.*

At length he felt the Torment of the *Stone*, which yet became not intolerable, until within about three Weeks before his Dissolution. A few Days before which, he had a strong Persuasion that in a little time he should be fetch'd to Heaven, and that he should die in the Arms of his eldest Son; who, on *August the 23d, 1723*, perceiving the Agonies of Death coming on him, did what he could to administer suitable Consolations. Amongst other things, he said, *Sir, the Messenger is come to tell you, This Day shalt thou be with me in Paradise: Do you believe it, Sir, and rejoice in the Views and Hopes of it?* he replied, *I do! I do! I do!* And upon speaking these Words, he died in his Son's Arms.

Had Dr. *Mather* ever pray'd to God that he might die a Martyr, he had an Equivalent granted to him; by three Weeks racking Pain of the Stone, he suffer'd more, than if he had died at the Stake. The Rewards for patient suffering of Pain and Torment, will be as certain as (if not more ample, than) those, which are assign'd to active Obedience unto the Law of God.

These Tryals come not on the Faithful by Chance; but are appointed by the Providence of an infinitely wise God, who delights not in the Misery or Anguish of his Creatures: but if he afflicts them for the Tryal of their Faith, it is, that upon their present enduring of it, he may make them for ever blessed, in the Enjoyment of that Crown of Life, which he has promised to them who love him.

They, who open'd his Body, were astonish'd to find what Cause there had been for the Groans of the last three Weeks of his Life; and it was from God's infinite Mercy, that he had not earlier Occasion of Complaints. They found, besides a *Polypus* upon his

his Bladder, fix large Stones in it, of uneven Figures, some of them above an Inch Diameter; the least of which was sufficient to have caus'd the most exquisite Pain. He was the last, and the only surviving one, of (if I have not miscounted) more than two Thousand and two Hundred Ministers, that were ejected and silenc'd upon the Restoration of King *Charles II.* and on the Act of Uniformity.

Seven Days after his Death, he was honour'd with a greater Funeral than ever had been seen (in the Province) for any Divine: and some Foreigners, who were present, said, they had never seen the like in any other Part of the World. The honourable *William Dummer*, Esq; who was then Lieutenant-Governor, and Commander in chief of the Province, and his honourable, ancient, and sincere Friend, *Samuel Sewal*, Esq; the Chief Judge of the Province, with the President of the College, and three of the principal Ministers, held up the Pall; before which, *One hundred and threescore* Scholars of the College, whereof he had been President, walk'd in Order. About fifty Ministers were Followers of the Corpse; the Spectators could not be number'd. On that Day the Reverend Mr. *Thomas Foxcroft* (one whom Dr. *Mather* greatly esteem'd) entertain'd a vast Auditory with an acceptable Discourse, on 2 *Chron.* xxiv. 15, 16. *He was full of Days when he died, and they buried him honourably, because he had done good in Israel.*

His Church ever shew'd a great Esteem of and Veneration for him, and it's no vain Repetition if I say, that Church is a Pattern to all the Protestant Churches that ever I saw, for they did not lose their Value for him upon his Death; but with a noble Gratitude, bore the Expences of his Funeral. *May God reward them.* After this, the Pulpits through the Country were fill'd with Funeral Sermons. The Ministers of *Boston*, successively, for
nine

nine or ten Weeks, in his own Pulpit, did express their Condolance with his Church. It was with great Satisfaction that he saw the Churches in *Boston* so well furnish'd, as they are at present, with valuable Ministers ; whose Character it's not seasonable to draw at this time.

Instead of entertaining the Reader with Extracts of the Funeral Discourses made on the Occasion of his Death ; or with a Description of the Place where he was buried, I shall exhibit a Catalogue of his Books.

The Mystery of Israel's Salvation.

The Life and Death of Mr. Richard Mather.

A Sermon against Drunkenness.

The Day of Trouble, &c.

Important Truths about Conversion.

The first Principles of New-England.

A Discourse concerning the Subject of Baptism, &c.

The wicked Man's Portion.

The Times of Men are in the Hands of God.

An History of the Indian War.

A Relation of Troubles of New-England, from the Indians from the beginning.

Discourse concerning the Prevalency of Prayer.

Renewal of Covenant, &c.

Of praying for the Rising Generation.

A Call to the Rising Generation.

Divine Right of Baptism, &c.

The great Concernment of a Covenant People, &c.

Heaven's Alarm to the World.

Diatriba de signo Filii Hominis.

Practical Truths.

The Church a Subject of Persecution.

A Discourse concerning Comets.

Remarkable Providences.

The Doctrine of Divine Providence.

Against promiscuous Dances.

The Mystery of Christ.

The greatest of Sinners exhorted, &c.

A Sermon on the Execution of a Man for Murder.

This was afterwards printed a second time in London, at the end of a Book entituled *Dying Penitents*; which occasion'd the Author of the *Athene Oxonienses*, to mention Dr. Mather as the Author of that Book, but it was a Mistake.

A Testimony against Superstitions.

De Successu Evangelii apud Indos, Epistola.

The Unlawfulness of swearing on the Book, &c.

Several Papers relating to the State of New-England.

The Revolution in New-England justified.

The Blessing of primitive Counsellors.

Cases of Conscience concerning Witchcraft, &c.

An Essay on the Power of a Pastor for the Administration of Sacraments.

On the Case whether a Man may marry two Sisters.

Solemn Advice to young Men.

A Treatise of Angels.

A Discourse on Man's not knowing his Time.

Concerning eating of Blood.

David serving his Generation.

The surest Way to the highest Honour.

Discourse on hardness of Heart.

The Folly of sinning.

The Order of the Gospel vindicated.

The Blessed Hope.

Remarks on a Sermon of G. K.

The Glory departing, &c.

The Cristian Religion the only true Religion, &c.

The Excellency of a publick Spirit.

The Duty of Parents to pray for their Children.

Gospel Truths.

The Voice of God in the stormy Winds.

Practical Truths to promote Holiness.

Meditations on the Glory of Christ.

A Discourse concerning Earthquakes.

A Testimony against Sacrilege.

A Dissertation concerning a Right to the Sacraments.

Medi-

Meditations on Death.

A Disquisition concerning the State of Souls departed.

A Dissertation concerning the future Conversion of the Jews, &c.

A Discourse concerning Faith and Prayer for the Kingdom of Christ.

A Sermon at the Artillery Election.

Awakening Truths.

Meditations on the Glory of Heaven.

Concerning the Death of the Righteous.

The Duty of the Children of Godly Parents.

Burnings bewailed.

Remarks upon an Answer, &c.

Of Sanctification of the Lord's Day.

A Discourse, shewing who shall enter into Heaven.

Believer's Gain by Death.

Resignation to the Will of God.

Jesus Christ a Saviour.

Disquisition concerning Ecclesiastical Councils.

There is a God in Heaven.

The Duty and Dignity of aged Servants of God.

The Duty of praying for Ministers; a Sermon preach'd at the Ordination of his Grandson.

Sermons on the Beatitudes.

An Ordination Sermon.

A Birth-Day Sermon.

Advice to Children of godly Ancestors.

A dying Pastor's Legacy.

Besides several Prefaces to Books, written by Divines in New-England, and to two of Mr. Flavel's Books printed at London.

Just Published,

A Vindication of the Holy Bible: Wherein the Arguments for, and Objections against, the divine Original, Purity, and Integrity of the Scripture are proposed and considered. By the Reverend Mr. Samuel Mather, A. M. Printed for John Clark and Richard Hett.



Forster Buchh.

Mather, Cotton,

Memoirs of the life of the late Reverend Increase Mather, who died Aug. 23,
1723

London 1725

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